

The first Booke
of
TVLLIES OFFICES
Translated Grammatically:

And also
According to the propriety of
our English Tongue;

For the more speedy and certain attain-
ing of the singular Learning contained in the
same, to further to a pure Latin stile, and to ex-
presse the mind more fully, both in
English and Latine.

Done chiefly for the good of Schooles; to be
used according to the directions in the Admonition
to the Reader, and more fully in Latin st. or
Grammar-Schoole.

L O N D O N,

Printed by the Assignes of Thomas Man, &c.
1631.

The first Books

of
T. VILLES OF

Accompanying

For the first

one of the

same, the

Don't think

the reason

to the

to the

LONDON

Printed by

1831



To the right worship.

full Master Doctour HVNTON
D. of Physicke, and his most reverend and
worthy respected friend, I. B. wisheth all
true happinesse in Christ both
now and evermore.



Onsidering with my selfe
(right worshipfull) to
whom I should dedicate
this small part of my
leavours, I could bethinke
e to whom it might bee
due, than to you ; sith I

A 2

OWC

The Epistle

owe unto you even mine owne selfe,
and all my later travels : for I must
needs acknowledge your unfained
love and tender care for mee, to the
glorie and praise of our blessed God,
and to bind my selfe still more unto
his heauenly Majestie, and even unto
your owne selfe to testifie my thank-
fulnesse, all my daies. Because, besides
all your regard which you have ever
had of my health, when as through
long affliction by sundrie most heavie
trials, and by over-toyling both mind
and bodie (in lacke of all meet helps
and means, to performe that service
which I had entered into, and so much
desired for the good both of Church
and common-weale) my life was be-
come most miserable and a burden
unto

Dedicatorie.

unto me; by changing the best humors of my bodie into lumpish melancholy, it pleased him, to make you his principall instrument for my recoverie and restoring. Whereby instead of that heavie dumpishnesse, by which I was made unfit for my calling, and almost utterly overwhelmed, as you well knowe, that our holy and most gracious God, to bee praised for evermore, hath caused me to finde even heaven upon the earth, so that I can againe rejoyce in all my labours, and especially in my calling: by which, my joy in him, is unto mee indeed a continuall feast, yea my strength and health, & such a portion, as in regard whereof I can account basely of all earthly things. And se-

A 3

condly

The Epistle

condly, for that love & favour, which you have continually shewed to all my poore labours, so encouraging me therein. And moreover also, for that you are able to judge of the hope of this Worke, for the perpetuall benefit of Schooles, by the more speedie and certaine attayning both of the singular matter and latine contained in that booke of *Offices*, which I have thus farre proceeded in. For the book it selfe I cannot but admire, according to the high commendations given unto it, by the most learned: who preferre it before all others of this kind, which have beene written by the light of nature alone; for that it doth so divinely point out the true pathway to all vertue, and guide unto a right course of life,

Dedicatorie.

life, as if it had received direction from the sacred Scriptures themselves. So that it is graced, as a mirror of wisdom, a fortress of Iustice, the teacher of valour, a schoole of temperance, the jewell of homeliness, containing in so fewe leaves, so many excellent instructions, as no other the like. Whence, *Erasmus* wonders that a heathen man should write so much to heathens; admirerth the equitie in it, holiness, veritie, sinceritie, agreement of everie part with right nature and amongst themselves, as also the conscience here requireth, especially in governors, the amiable beaurie of veritie, which he setteth before the faces of all. Yea, he thinketh it strange, that he should write so religiously and so
330 like

The Epistle

like a Divine, of helping and relieving
one another, of procuring and main-
taining friendship, of the contempt of
those vanities which the common sort
of Christians doe so deat after. And
finally, judgeth it most worthie and
meet for schople-masters to teach, and
scholars to learne; and not onely for
all young men, but even olde men
themselves againe and againe both to
use and peruse. In regard of all which,
so many learned men have not disdai-
ned to beare it in their bosome, lay it
under their pillowes, make it their cō-
panion, which way soever they have
gone. Now what I have done here-
in, that all who are truly studious of
good learning, though children in
yeares, may more easilie behold, and
bee

Dedicatorie.

be more fully partakers of these rich treasures, for which the Learned have had this Worke in so high estimation, I referre to all who are truly learned to judge, and chiefly to your selfe, who are better acquainted with my inde-
vours in it. For my self, my hope is, that whereas it hath formerly seemed to sundrie so obscure, as that they have read with very little fruit or delight, because they have not understood it; that they may now at the first view, livelie behold the true lustre thereof, and receive most sweet content, to cause them ever to delight therein. Which if the Lord shall vouchsafe, as I undoubtedly trust, I shall receive the end of my desires, and bee encouraged to proceed to the accomplishing of
the

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

the rest of it, and ever to be employed
for the common good, untill I have
spent my last breath for the same. In
which unfained desire, I rest and ever
shall

Yours in the Lord

most bebolden,

John Brinsley.



An Admonition to the loving Reader.



Vnderstand, first, the matter
contained in each Chapter,
by reading over and obser-
ving wel the inmost co-
lumne. Then, try so farre as need is, for the
true construing and resolving thereof out
the Author it selfe, both for Grammar
and pbrase; and also to read it into a good
english stile, by the helpe of the second
columnne and the margents. And lastly
(which is the principall) practise, out of
the

An Admonition

the same (viz. the second columnne and margents alone) to read daily some part of it, out of the translation into the Latine of the Author, studying it out of the English alone; trying by it, and a little help of the latine booke, where need requireth (as I have advised chiefly for Corderius) how neer you can come to expresse Tully livelily for Latine phrase, composition, and whatsoever elegancy besides. After each sentence, reading the Author, to see how neer you came, marking where you failed, with the reason of it. So in a Schoole, cause every one in a Forme, or so many as you would have to practice this together, thus first to construe extempore daily every one a peece out of the Latine bookes alone, without the English; onely one of them by the English to aske
and

to the Reader.

and direct, where any one failes. Afterwards, or every other day, let every one read his peece out of the English booke alone, none having any Latin booke, but onely some one to be in the place of the Master, to observe, and where they faile to direct; first, by asking of him who readeth, and then of others, after helping; so posing for sense, phrase, latinisme, both out of the Latin, and English, as is directed in the Grammar-schoole. And then, I hope, you will in time scale with mee, upon experience, whatsoever I have written concerning the benefit of such Grammaticall translations in this behalfe. For the worth of the books of Offices themselves, I referre thee to the Epistle Dedicatory: For the slips which thou shalt meet with herein, which I know to be
every

An Admonition

very many (as in all the rest of my labours, chiefly through want of meet helpe of bookes and conference, and also time to peruse in the midst of my continuall imployments in my Calling, wherein I am still labouring, as God vouchsafes mercy, not only for the private, but for thine and the publicke good, as also through my absence from the Presse) let me intreat thy curteous advice and direction to the Printer, that hee may convey it unto me, as some lovingly have done: future Editions may reforme it. So shall I be both more incouraged, and furthered for preforming my promise in finishing my intended labour, for the generall good; and the blessing thereof shall returne into thine owne bosome. And thus desiring ever the assistance of thy prayers
for

to the Reader.

for mee, to his heavenly Maieſty whoſe
all my trauels are, I commend thee to his
grace; and reſt.

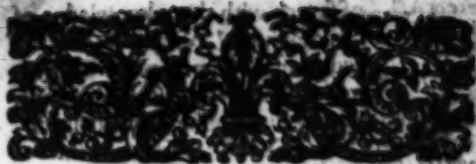
Thine wherein his
goodnes ſhall inable,

I. B.

to the Reader
For mee, to the Reader, I have written
all my thoughts, I have written
grace, and rest.

The letter *q*, prefix to words, directs to
the Grammar order, in such places, where
the Grammar order would not stand well
with our tongue; the Starre *, to variety of
phrase; the better to expresse the matter.

I. B.



The first Booke
of
MARCVS TVLLIVS
CICERO,

q Concerning Duties, to MARCVS
[his] Sonne.

CHAPTER I.

The * Argument [of this first chapter]
q by Desiderius Erasmus
of Roterdame.

q [Written or de-
dicated] to [his]
sonne Marcus, of
Dutira.

* Summe
q [gathered or see
downe] by D.

Erasmus.
* Cicero, his sonne.
* give not himselfe
wholly unto,



ully] exhorteth * his
sonne Cicero by his owne
example, that he "addict
not himself to any q one
studie alone; but that hee q joyne
Creeke with Latine, & q eloquence

q simple studie [of
any one kinde of
learning]
q joyne together
Greek [Studies]
with Latin [Stu-
dies] q the venues
of speech.

B

science or skill.

* And then.

* to the intent
that he may make
him &c.

* to make it bet-
ter. *q* chiefly by
two names or com-
mendations layeth
open most largely
[or most wid] to
every respect [*vir*,
part or purpose]
of life.

q this one is com-
mon to all Philo-
sophers amongst
themselves.

q he witnesseth
himselfe to follow
the Stoicks chiefly
in this disputation.
q appointed the
very best, the end
or limit of &c.

q unto which

[end.]

* election or difference. *q* overturned also. * the very nature
of duties.

of speech with the *q* knowledge of
Philosophie. * Afterward *q* to the
end to make him * more attentive,
hee commendeth [unto him] this
part of Philosophie, which is con-
cerning Duties; *q* for two causes e-
specially; either for that the use of
it, *q* extendeth it selfe most largely
to every condition of life: or be-
cause *q* this alone is common to all
sorts of Philosophers. Lastly, *q* he
affirmeth, that he chiefly followeth
the Stoicks in this discourse, because
these have *q* determined the very
best of the end of goodnes, *q* where-
unto al Duties are referred: where-
as *Epicurus* measuring the chiefe
good by pleasure, and *Aristo*, *Pyr-
rho* and *Herillus* taking away [all]
* choyce of things, have *q* subver-
ted * even the nature of Dutie.

This first chapter containeth the exordium or entrance into the whole worke: and in it Tully directing all his speech to his sonne,

1.

Putteth him in mind what knowledge in Philosophy might be lookt for at his hands; to wit, that he should be fully furnished with the grounds thereof.

1. Because of the excellencie of his reader, viz. Cratippus.

2. In regard of the time wherein he had heard him, viz. a whole year.

3. For the place where, viz. at Athens a famous Vniuersitie. And that because as his reader might store him with precepts, so the place with examples;

4.

Hee exhorte him to joyne the study of Greeke and Latine together.

Although ^{* Albeit.} ^{i(sonne}

^{Marr.) its concerneth you, having heard}

now a year, & that

at ^{q Athens q to}

be thoroughly furnished with ^{* pre-}

cepts & institutions

of Philosophy, for

that ^{q singular au-}

thoritie both of

your ^{* teachers &}

also of the City;

^{q the one whereof}

may ^{q store you}

with knowledge;

^{q the other with}

examples; ^{1 yet}

as I myself ^{q have}

ever for my bene-

fit joyned Latine

studies with greek

neither have I dbe

that only in Philo-

sophy, but also in

B 2 the

^{q behooveth or is meet for you. q hearing.}

^{q Athens a famous Citie & university in Greece. q to a-bounds or store. * rules and instructions or lessons. q chiefly.}

^{* reader Cratippus, viz. your teacher, q of which the one q increase or furnish you. q the other viz. the Citie may store you with, &c. q have joyned together, alwayes Latine to Greeke for my profit.}

^{q exercise of speaking [eloquently] or practice of pleading.}

¶ exercise of speaking [eloquently] or practice of pleading.

¶ I think the same to be don of you.

* equall.

* skill or knowledge.

¶ to which thing indeed.

¶ doe seeme or are thought.

* furtherance.

¶ men.

¶ rude or unskillfull of Greek letters or learning.

* that they themselves have gotten something.

¶ both to speake [eloquently] and also to judge.

¶ prince.

the practice of oratory; so I think you ought to doe the same, that you may bee alike in the faculty of both kindes of speech: unto which purpose we (as we suppose) have brought great helpe to our countrie; that not only [they who are] ignorant of the Greek tongue, but also the learned, may thinke themselves to have attained somewhat both to further their eloquence, & also their judgements.

3. Wherefore you shall learne indeed, of the chiefe of the

Philosophers

had done so, both in the studie of Philosophy and Rhetoricke;

2. To the end that he might bee equall in both tongues, viz both Greeke and Latine;

3. That thereby hee might benefit his countymen; not only the ruder sort, but even the learned also, as he himselfe had done before, both for speech & judgement.

¶ hee willett him that (though hee was a hearer of Cratippus the chiefe Philosopher

Phi-

of that age, and doe in-Philosophers of
courage him thereun- this * age : & you * time.
to that he should heare shall learn as long
him as long as hee as you * will; yea & * please.
would, and as he per- you ought to be q shall owe to will
ceived himself to profit willing, lo long as or bewilling.
by him, yet) hee would it shall not repent
reade his writings also: you how much * increase in lear-
and that

1. Because his writings you * profit. But * ning.
did not much differ you * reading q you reading
from the Philosophy of yet q reading q my q our works (or
the Peripateticks, which books * not much writings.)
his sonne followed, dissenting fro the * greatly.
(sith they desired to be * Peripateticks (be q disagreeing.
both followers of So- cause * wee desire * Philosophers of
crates & Plato) though to be both * So- Aristotles sect.
concerning that sect, * we both desire.
hee leave him to his cratians and Pla- * followers both of
owne judgement, tonians) use your Socrates & Plato,
concerning the owne judgement, who was Aristotles
matters the schoolmaster and
Socrates scholar.
selves. (For q I do q do as you think
not hinder you) q I hinder no-
q but surely you thing.
shall make [your] q but you.

Latine q tongue q speech.
more q flowing q full of copious
by reading q my q our writings.
2. For that reading his
- B 3 workes

¶ verily.

¶ to be thought
[or deemed.]

spoken proudly or
vauntingly.

¶ granting [or gi-
ving place [to
many the skill of
playing the Philo-
sopher.

¶ take upon me
that.

¶ is the property
of an Oratour.

¶ fitly or properly.
¶ briefly.

¶ consumed
[my] age.

¶ I seeme to chal-
lenge it as by
mine owne right,
in some manner.

¶ wherefore.

¶ I Exhort you
verie greatly.
¶ my Cicero.

¶ studiously or
diligently.

workes. Neither

¶ yet would I have

this ¶ thought to

bee spoken arro-

gantly [of me] for

¶ yeelding unto

many the know-

ledge of Philoso-

phy, if I * assume

that unto my self,

which ¶ properly

belongeth unto

an Oratour, [that

is] to speak * aptly,

distinctly & ¶ elo-

quently, because I

have ¶ spent [my]

time in that study,

¶ I seeme after a

sort to challenge it

[as] by my owne

right. ¶ For wch

cause (sonne Cice-

ro) ¶ I earnestly

exhort you, that

you reade ¶ care-

fully not only my

Orat-

writings he should

make his Lating tong

more copious.

3. Because howsoever

he yeelded unto others

the superiority in the

knowledge of Philoso-

phy, yet he challenged

unto himselfe a prehe-

minence amongst O-

ratours, for that he had

spent his whole time

therein.

4. To this purpose hee

perswades him fur-

ther, to the diligent

reading not onely of

his orations, but al-

so of these his three orations, but also
bookes of Offices, these bookes
which were now equal [which I have
in number to those writ] of Philoso-
three volumes of Ora- phy which q have
tions : and this like- now almost made
wise, themselves equal

q have equalized
themselves almost
or wel nere unto
those. viz are be-
come so many as
the other.

unto those : for
there is a greater
q force of elo-
quence q in those,

q power of speech.
q in those [orati-
ons.]

yet this q even &
q middle kinde of
stile is also to bee
regarded. And
q the rather be-
cause I do not see,
that it hath hap-
pened as yet to a-
ny of the Greci-
ans, that the same
man travelled q in
both those kindes
[of speech] & fol-
lowed both q that
lawverlike manner
of pleading, and
this

q equal of one
sort.
q temperate or
meane, viz not
too lofty nor too
base.

* adorned or
præfised.
q truly I see that
to have happened
as yet to none of
the Grecians.

a. for that he observed
that none of the Gre-
cians had attained
hereunto, to excell
in both these kinds of
stile.

q in either kind,
q that kinde of
speaking belong-
ing to the plea-
ding place or the
bar.

q that kinde of
speaking belong-
ing to the plea-
ding place or the
bar.

q quiet.
q disputing or rea-
soning.

q had or reckoned.

* a sharp dispu-
tant.

q an Orator smally
[or nothing] ve-
hement.

* pleasant.

* Theophrastus
his scholar.

q let it be the
judgement of
others.

q I truly do judge
also Plato to have
been able to speak
most gravely and
most copiously,
if he would have
handled [or fol-
lowed] that law-

this q milde kinde
of q discoursing :
except peradven-
ture *Demetrius*

Phalerius may be

q accounted in
this number ;
[who was indeed]

* a subtile disputer,
q but no great O-
rator, yet * sweet,

that you may
knowe [him to
have been] * the
scholar of *Theo-
phrastus*. But how

much wee have
profited in both
[kinds] q let o-

thers judge : cer-
tainely wee have
followed both.

q And I think ve-
rely, that *Pla.* also
(if he would have
practiced that
Lawyerlike kinde
of

Except peradventure
Demetrius Phalerius,
who was no great O-
rator, though a sub-
tile disputer, and yet
of sweet speech, that
he might be knowne
one of *Theophrastus*
scholars.

But for his owne skill
in both kindes, he re-
ferreth it to the judge-
ment of others.

Also he thinketh that
Plato could have don
excellently, if hee
would have followed
that kinde of stile.

of pleading: y^e like kind of
could have spoken speaking.
ken most gravely
and a most copiously: and q^u that
Demosthen. could with great variety of words,
have don elegantly and finely, if q^u Demosthenes to
he had learned of he had kept those doct trimly and
Plato. things which hee glitteringly [or
learned of Plato, notably.]
and q^u would have q^u had beene wil-
pronounced them. ling to pronounce
them.

So likewise Aristotle q^u So I judge like-
and Isocrates, if they wise of Aristotle q^u Also I judge af-
had not despised one ter the same man-
another, being either ner.
of them too much con- q^u both of whom.
ceited in his owne
studie. ing delighted
with his owne
studie, despised
the other. course.

5. But q^u whereas q^u when as
I had determined decreed or ap-
ned to write some pointed.
what unto you at
this time, and ma-
ny things hereaf-
ter

Hee sheweth why hee
purposing to write
many things unto
him, began with these
books of Offices.

q been most willing.

q to make my entrance from that.

q apt.

q weighty, or of most importance, or most belcoming.

q For whereas many things in Philosophy both weightie, & profitable, are disputed.

q accurately, or very curiously.

* at large,

q delivered by them and given in precepts.

q to lye open [or teach the furthest.]

q common matters.

* belonging to a mans selfe, or some few.

ter, I have q desired q to beginne

with that especially, which was

both most q fitte for your age, and

most q grave for authority; q For

whereas there are many things in

Philosophie both weightie and profitable,

disputed of q very exactly

and * copiously by the Philosophers,

those which have beene

q delivered & prescribed by them

concerning Duties, do seeme q to

extend most largely. For no part of

[our] life, neither in q publicke [affaires]

nor in private

1. For that this worke was most meete for them, both for the age of the one of them, and the gravity of the other.

2. Because although there are many other things in Philosophie very profitable, yet none so profitable as this concerning duty; nor any that extendeth it selfe so largely;

Sith no part of our like can be without duty, in what matters soever, or howsoever we are to deale in private or in publique.

vare, [nor in mat-
ters] * pertaining * common pleas
to the * pleading where matters are
place, nor in * do- pleaded for all
mesticall busines- sorts, or the Iudge-
ment Hall.
ses, nor if you doe q matters at home.
gought alone, nei- q any thing with
ther if you q have or by your selfe.
dealing with ano- q contract [or
ther, may q bee make bargaine.]
without Dutie. q lak or want.

And moreover for that
all honesty of life is in
regarding dutie, all
dishonesty in the ne-
glect of it;

3 Because this questi-
on of Dutie belongs to
all Philo'sophers,

Neither dare any as-
sume the name of a
Philosopher, unlesse
he have given some
precepts of Dutie;

6. He giveth him
warning of some sects

so all honesty of
life y doth consist q is set.
in * regarding it, * practising or
and [all] q disho- exercising it.
nestie, in negle- q filthines or
thame.

King it. 3. And in-
deede this questi-
on is common to q of.

all the Philoso-
phers. For who is
he, that q giving q in no precepts
na precepts of of dutie to be gi-
Dutie, dare name ven, or being
himselſe a Philo- delivered.

sopher? 6. But
there are some
q sects

q disciplines [viz q sects, which per-
Sects of Philoso-vert all duty, ha-
phers.]

* overturne.

q ends [or limits]
of good things &
evill.

q agreeable to.

* be very like
himselfe.

q not overcome
sometimes,

* of his nature.

q love, use or
exercise.

* bounty.

vert all duty, ha-
ving determined

the q bounds of

good & evill. For

hee that so deter-

mineth the sove-

raigne good, that

it hath nothing

q conjoyaed with

vertue, and mea-

sureth the same by

his owne com-

modities and not

by honestie, it

commeth to passe,

that this man if he

* consent unto
himselfe, and bee

q not sometimes o-

vercome by the

goodnes * of na-

ture, can neither

q practice friend-

ship, nor justice,

nor * liberality.

And certainly hee Neither

hee that

can

of Philosophers which
pervert all dutie in set-
ting downe falsely the
limits of good & evill.

Because he that deter-
mineth the chief good
to be in any thing but
in vertue, or in that
which is agreeable
thereunto, cannot be
vertuous, nor so much
as put any vertue in
ure, unless he be over-
come by the goodnes
of nature.

judgeth the chiefe
vill to be in any thing
but in vice, or that
which belongs there-
unto, or followeth
thereupon.

can by no means
be a valiant [man]

q who judgeth q judging.

griefe to bee the
greatestt evill, or

temperate q who
determineth plea-

q determining or
setting downe.

sure to bee the
chiefgood: which

things, although
they are so q ap-

q in readinesse,
or evident.

parant, that the
matter needeth

* no disputation,
yet they are * dis-

* not further
debating.

puted q by us in
another place.

* debated.
q of us.

And moreover hee
sheweth, that these
Sects can say nothing
concerning Dutie;

These q Sects
therefore, if they

q Disciplines.

will be agreeable
to themselves, can

* unless they will
dissent from
themselves.

say nothing con-
cerning Dutie.

q Neither can any
precepts of Dutie

q neither any pre-
cepts of duty can
be set downe [as]

[which are] * firm,
stable, & q agree-

firme, stable, &c.
sure. q conjoy-

able
ned or coupled.

q of them.

q say.

q honesty to bee
most earnestly de-
sired for it selfe.

q that doctrine [or
the right of giving
precepts] of dutie,
doth proly be-
long.

q proper of.

q hissed out of the
schooles.

q should have.
q right or due.

q disputing.

able to nature, be-
see downe but ei-
ther q by the who
[affirm] only [ho-
nesty] [to be desi-
red] or by them

who q hold q that
honesty is especia-
lly to be desired
for it selfe. And

therefore q the gi-
uing precepts
thereof, is q pecu-
liar to the Stoicks,
and Academiks,
and Peripatetiks,

because the opini-
on of *Aristo*, *Pyrrho*, and *Herillus*,
hath beene * his-
sed out long agoe;
who nevertheles

q might have had
their q lawfull li-
berty, of q discour-
sing concerning
Dutie, if they had
left

Nor that any can sette
downe any right pre-
cepts of dutie, but on-
ly they who hold ver-
tue to be the chi test
good.

And therefore that
onely the Stoicks, Aca-
demiks, and Peripa-
tetics can give pre-
cepts of duty;

forth at the opinions
of other Philosophers
as of *Aristo*, *Pyrrho*,
and *Herillus*, had been
hissed out of the
Scholes long before.

7.
Hee therefore professeth that hee chiefly followed the Stoicks in these bookes so far as he thought fit, for his purpose, to sette downe the truth; and so drewe out of their fountaines, what so ever seemed necessary heereunto.

left any choise of
* things, that ther * matters,
might q have bin q be.
an entrance to the
finding out of du-
tie. 7. q We there- q Therefore truly
fore at this time, wee doe follow
and in this questi- chiefly the Sto-
on, doe chiefly icks at this time,
follow the Stoicks: and in this questi-
on.
not as * Interpre- * expounders or
ters, but as wee translators.
are * wont, we wil * accustomed.
draw out of their
fountaines, so
much as q by any q shall seem good
meanes shall q by any meanes.
seeme good, q in our judge-
ment and arbitre-
ment. ment (or opini-
on.)

Chap.

Chap. 2.

Chap. 2.

q It pleaseth [or
liketh therefore.

q all my disputati-
on [or the whole
dispute following]
q concerning du-
ty.

* describe or set
downe.

q before.

* wonder.

q to have beene
omitted of Pane-
tius.

q institution or
booke of giving
precepts.

q of any.

* taken in hand.

q from reason.

viz. by an orderly
course.

q come or proceed
from a definition.

* concerning
which the dis-
course is.

q disputed or in-
treated.

I Think it there-
fore meet, first
q all my discourse
shall bee q of Du-
ty, to * define q first
what Duty is:

2. Which I * mar-
vell q that *Pannius*
pretermitted.

3. For everie trea-
tise q concerning
any matter, which
is * undertaken

q according to
reason, ought to
q begin with a de-
finition, that it
may be under-
stood, what it is
* whereof it is
q discoursed.

In this chapter Tul-
ly first declareth his
purpose to begin with
the definition of Du-
ty, as most meet; first
the whole disputation
is to be of Duty.

2. Reproveh *Pannius*
for omitting it.

3. Teacheth that every
treatise ought to be-
gin of a definition, to
the end that the whole
discourse may bee bet-
ter understood.

Chap.

Chap. 3.

The Argument.

BECAUSE the
 name of Du-ty is not of one denomination,
 sort, neither could be fitly defined in
 generall, he expresseth it by a division,
 which in truth is double in word, but the same in substance. Hee maketh also two kinds of Duties, according to the opinion of the Stoicks. The one, which they call a perfect dute, and is joyned with the end of goodnesse, neither doth it appertaine to any man; but

q word, teaching;
 q simple: viz. of
 one kinde onely.
 q in the generall, or
 according to the
 generall.
 q being twofold in
 deed.
 q indeed or in ef-
 fect.

C only onely.

q The other is a
middle Duty or
begun.

q taken or done to
to some necessarie
purpose.
q to restore aright.

q is of a perfect
Duty, or a proper-
ty or part of &c.
* to restore, but not
aright.

q [is] of.
* unperfect [Duty].
* fith that.
* as right and ho-
nestly requires.
q but.

only to a wise man.

q The other is of a
middle kinde or
onely begun, wch
is neither good of
it selfe nor evill, but

is q undertaken for
some use of life: as
for exāple, q Right-
ly to restore that
which hath beene
committed to our
trust to keep, q is
a worke of perfect
Dutie: [onely] to
restore that which
hath been commit-
ted to us in trust,

q of an unperfect;
* whenas no man
save onely a wise
man can restore as
right, q though e-
ven fooles also
may restore. And S.
Ambrose thinketh,
those Duties wch
are

are *q* performed *q* done.
 according to coun- *q* counsels or ad-
 sell, to be of the vice, *viz.* of our
 former kinde; selves, without
q those which are command or in-
 done according to *q* those [duties.]
 precepts, *q* of the *** onely according
 latter: as for exam- to the commande-
 ple, to *q* husband ment of others or
 our substance well, *q* [to be] of &c.
** appertaineth to* *q* imploy, govern
 the imperfect Du- or order.
 tie; to bestow up- ** may belong to.*
 on the poore *q* Duty begun.
 the perfect. *q* appertaineth to,
 the perfect.

Before he defines
 Duty, he declareth
 that there are two
 sorts of questions
 concerning it.

One sort of them
 about the end of
 good things.
 The other, concer-
 ning precepts of
 Duty for framing
 the whole course of
 life.

E Very questi- ** All the question.*
 on concer-
 ning Dutie, *q* be- *q* is double [or of
 longeth to one of two sorts.]
 these two kindes.
 One kinde is which
 appertaineth to the
** end of good* ** determinat, one*
 things: *q* the other of good.
 which consisteth *q* the other [kinde]
 in precepts; by ** is placed.*
 C 1 which

q the use of life may
bee confirmed into
all parts.

q Examples of the
former kinde are of
this sort, or there
are such like exam-
ples of, &c.

q and which are of
the same kinde.

q of What Duties
precepts are delive-
red.

* the attaining of
the greatest good.

q to belong rather
to the institution
[or ordering] of
the common life.

which q the course
of [mans] life may
be framed for eve-
ry condition there-

of : q Of the for-
mer kinde, there
are such like exam-
ples, as these fol-
lowing. Whether
all Duties be per-
fect ? Whether
one Dutie bee not
greater than ano-
ther ? q and such as
are of the same

kinde. But q those
Duties whereof
precepts are given,
although they ap-
pertain to * the end
of good, yet that
doth lesse appeare,
because they seeme
rather q to belong
to the framing of
the common kind
of life : concerning
which

And first he setteth
downe precepts of
the former kinde as
1. whether all Du-
ties bee perfect, &c.

And in the second
place, he sheweth
his purpose to han-
dle in this Booke
the later sort of the
former questions,
viz. concerning
precepts of Duty
for ordering and
framing the life of
man.

which *q* we are ^{to} *q* it is to bee expected of us.
shew our mindes ^{*intreat.}
in these bookes.

Afterwards he pre- *q* There is moreo- *q* And also there is
poundeth an other ver another divisio another division of
division of Duty, to of Dutie. For there Duty.
wit, that Duty is ei- is said [to bee] a
ther meant, viz. of certaine * middle * meane.
a middle nature, or
else perfect. and a perfect Du-
tie. I suppose wee
may call [that]

The perfect bee the *q* perfect Du- *q* right.
thinketh to be that tie which the Gre-
which the Grecians tic which the Gre-
call *κατὰ φύσιν*; and cians name *κατὰ φύσιν*.
the middle, that *μὲν*; *q* but this [we *q* but they call this
which they name may call] a * mid- common office
κατὰ νόμον. dle [Duties] which means or com-
they call *κατὰ νόμον*. mon.

Then sheweth how And they define
they define both of those [Dutie] thus:
them, viz. that they that they define
define the perfect that which is right,
Duty to bee a right to be a perfect Du-
Duty. tie. But they say, * that is a middle
that * to be a mid- Duty.

The meane to bee that *q* for wth *q* which wherefore
that for which a dle Dutie, it is done, &c.
probable reason a probable rea-

son may bee rendered, wherefore it is done. why it is done.

Chap. 4.

What manner of deliberation [ought to be] in the choice of things.

a way of deliberating [or advising] in choosing things.

Therefore there is a triple [or threefold] advisement [or manner of advising] in taking counsell, as it seemeth to Panetius.

q falleth into deliberation, or cometh to be considered of [or to be weighed.]

q sentences.

THe deliberation then of taking counsell is of three sorts, as Panetius thinketh. For first [men] doe doubt, whether that which cometh to be consulted of, bee honest to be done or dishonest. In considering whereof, their mindes are oft distracted into contrarie opinions.

Chap. 4.

In this chapter Tullie in the first place setteth downe three questions, which are usuall in taking counsell, according to Panetius. 1. whether the matter to be consulted of be honest or dishonest: In which consideration hee sheweth that there are many difficulties.

2. whether it be profitable or no, *q* Second- *q* And then or in
viz. whether it may further our commodi-
 ties or pleasures; the thing whereof *ly, they* inquire or *the next place,*
 or more enable us to helpe our selves *consult,* whether ** search out or ad-*
 and others. *they take advice,* *vise.*
may farther [them]

for the commodi-
 tie & pleasantnesse
 of life, for *q* ability *q* riches and store
 and plentie of [all] *or abundance.*
 things, for wealth
 & power, *q* where- *q* by which things
 by they may both
 helpe themselves &
q theirs; all which *q* their friends.
 deliberatio falleth
q under the consi- *q* into the respect
 deration of profit.

3. when profit seemeth to fight with honestie; whether it is to be chosen. *3. The third kind of doubting is,*
whenas that thing
with seemeth profit-
table, is thought to
** fight with hone-*
** be contrary to*
honestie. For whenas honestie.

Because when our profit draweth us one way, and honestie snatch to it selfe,
 [and]

* of the other side.
I recall.

* haled to and fro.
q deliberating or
advising.
q doubtfull.
* studie.
q thinking or deli-
berating.
q passe by.

* overslipped.

q for neither are
wont to deliberate
onely, &c.

q two honest things
being propounded.

[and] * contrarily sic another, our
honestie, to q call
backe againe unto
it selfe; it commeth
to passe, that the

mind is * distra-
cted in q delibera-
tion, and bringeth
a q perplexed care
of q imagination.

2. Whereas, to q o-
mit any thing in
dividing, is a very
great fault, two
things are * preter-
mitted in this divi-
sion: q for men are
not onely wont to
deliberate whether
the matter be ho-
nest or dishonest;

1. But also q of two
honest things pro-
pounded, whether
is the honestest;
2. and also of two
profitable things

mindes come to be
exceedingly distra-
cted and perplexed.

2. In the second place
reproving *Passe*. for
omitting something
in this division, hee
addeth other two
questions whereof
men are wont to
deliberate also, As

1. Of two honest
things whether is
more honest.

2. Of two profita-
ble things whether
is more profitable.

laid

So that hee maketh
five generall ques-
tions in each deli-
beration.

The two first con-
cerning honesty.

The two next con-
cerning profit.

The fifth of com-
paring them both
together.

Of the two first hee
disputeth in the
first booke; of the
two next concer-
ning profit in the
second; of compa-
ring them both in
the third.

layd before [us]

whether is more

profitable. So that

consideration, whe-
ther hee thought to be

three fould, is

found & meet to be

divided into five

parts. First, the

are to intreat of

honestie; but, two

manner of waies:

then & in like sort

of profit; & lastly,

of the & comparing

of them together.

& what reason [or
manner of advi-
sing] he thought
to be &c.

& to owe, or that
it ought.

& we must dispute.

& by a like reason,
or as many waies.
& afterwards.

& comparison of
them.

Chap. 5.

The Argument.

& In this Chap- & Tully doth teach
ter [Tully] accor- in this chapter ac-
ding to the opiniō cording to the sen-
of the ancient Aca- tence of &c.

demy

¶ mention this on-
ly to be ~~to~~ live blef-
sedly.

¶ added.
¶ by which, indu-
strie and use com-
ming thereunto.

* whereunto.

* first.

* given.

¶ study or earnest
desire.

demy, and of the
Stoicks (who thinke
the chiefe good to
come from Nature,
and doe ¶ affirme,
this to be the very
thing to live blef-
sedly, [viz.] to live
according to Na-
ture) doth teach,
what seedes nature
hath sowed in us,
and what helps it
hath ¶ given, wher-
by ¶ through dili-
gence and practice
we may attaine to
felicitie, * whither
all things are refer-
red. For, * in the
first place it hath
* put into every li-
ving creature an
¶ endeavour of de-
fending it selfe;
which is common
to men with beasts
by

by the lawe of Na-
ture, and it is called

that is to say, the first according to

Nature; then followeth an earnest desire of those

things, which are

furtherers of safety, [and] a flying of those which

are hurtfull. But

moreover it hath given to man (because hee consists

not onely of body but also of *mind) * soule.

* power of reason, that hee may

bee wholly safe; from whence all

disciplines, and those moral ver-

ties do proceed.

It

* in the beginning
or first of all.

* each creature
should save it selfe.

* avoid or flee from.

* to preserve life.
q as dens or hiding
places.
q other.

q appetite.
q conjunction, com-
pulation or inge-
ndering.

* breeding.
q common thing
of all.

* love.
* creatures.

IT is given to * e-
very kinde of
living creatures by

Nature * from the
beginning, * to de-
fend it selfe, life

and body, and * to
shun those things
which seeme hurt-
full ; and also to
seek out & prepare
all things whatso-
ever are necessarie

* to living : as, fee-
ding, q dens, and
q other things of
the same kinde.

2. An q earnest de-
fire also of q com-
ming together for
the cause of * pro-

creation is q com-
mon to all living
creatures, and also
a certaine * care of
those * things
which

Chap. 5.

In this fifth chapter
Tully teacheth, first
what is common to
all living creatures
by nature: as name-
ly,

1. To defend them
selves, lives and bo-
dies, to shun what
appeareth hurtfull,
to follow after that
which seemeth
good for them.

3. An earnest desire
of going together
for procreation,
with a care of their
young.

In the second place hee declareth the speciall difference betweene man and beast.

2. That the beast followeth only that which is present, & whereunto it is moved by sense, little perceiving what is past or to come. But man carried by reason, in considering circumstances and comparing things together, followeth what he taketh best for the life, and prepareth things necessarie for the leading thereof.

which are q bred. q procreated or brought forth. q doth differ chiefly.
But this q is the speciall difference betweene man and beast.

1. q For that the q because this, beast q bendeth it q applich. selfe so much as it is moved by sense, unto that thing onely which is at hand, and which is present, very little perceiving what is past or to come: that which is past. but man because he is * partaker of * indued with reason, whereby son or understanding. he seeth q what will follow, q things that follow, or consequents or verth the beginnings and causes of * he. sequels. things, q neither is q also he is not ignorant of the norant. q proceedings of q progresses. them, & as it were q things going before q foregoings or forerunners. fore

q similitudes or
semblances.

q to.

* considereth or
observeth.

q to rule or govern
it.

q to the living of it.
q and.

q reconcile or gain.
power.

q both to a fellow-
ship of speech and
a fellowship of life.

q first of all.

q chiefe.

q procreated.

q a company.

fore them, he com-
pareth q things
that are like, and
adjoyneth & knits
together things
to come q with
things present,
* seeth easily the
course of [his]
whole life, and
prepareth things
necessary q to the
leading thereof.

2. q Moreover the same Nature doth
q win man to man
by the * force of
reason, to q a soci-
ety both of speech
and of life, & doth
breed q chiefly a
certain q speciall
love towards them
which are q begot-
ten ; and infor-
ceth that q compa- And that they are
nies of men are wil- also more servicea-
ling

3. That men by the
meanes of reason
are more sociable
and desirous to live
in assemblies toge-
ther, having a spe-
cial care of their
progeny.

ble one to another
studying to provide
all necessaries for
themselves, and
theirs, and so for all
other whom they
love, and ought to
defend, as their
wives and children,
and all others who
are neere and deare
unto them.

ling to bee *q* assem-
bled amongst the-
selves, and *q* be also
serviceable unto
one another: and
for those causes [in-
forceth them] to
studie to provid
those things, which
may *q* furnish them
both *q* for appa-
rell and also for su-
stenance; and that
not for themselves
alone, but for their
q wives, children
and others, * who
are deare unto
them, and whom
they ought to de-
fend: which care
q doth also stir up

q celebrated or ga-
thered by many to-
gether.
q obey themselves.

q minister suffici-
ently.
q to cloathing and
food or living.

q wife.
* whom it hath
deare and ought
to defend.

q also doth stir up
the mindes.

Hereby their spi-
rits are stirred up,
and they are made
more cheerefull to
their businesses.

mens spirits, and
doth make them
q more couragious
to doe their busi-
nesse.

q greater to ma-
nage their affaires.

3. A third difference

3. Also
the

* is a speciall or
chiefe property of
man.

* void of necessarie.

q covet.

* somewhat.

Al cogitation.

* secret.

* wonderous.

* to a blessed life.

q of which it is ga-
thered, that what is
true, &c.

* pure.

q that to be.

q There is adjoy-
ned to this.

q forearest long-
ing.

the inquiry and searching out of the truth * is especially proper q unto man. There-fore when wee are free from necessa-rie busineses and cares, then we q de-
fire to see, heare and learne * some-thing; and wee ac-
count the Al know-ledge of things ei-ther * hidden or * admirable [to be] necessarie * to live well and blessedly.

q Whereupon it is understood, what thing [soever] is true, simple, and * sincere, q that is the fittest to the nature of man.

The consequent hereof.

4 q There is a cer-
taine q desire of
fove-

4. That there is in man a certaine de-
fire of soverainie

or hearing rule, and soveraintie adjoy-
to obey none but ned to this q love q covetous desire.
him that governeth of * seeing the * espying or sin-
for his benefit. ding out.

truth, that a minde
well * informed by * framed of nature.

Nature, is willing
to obey no man,
but one q com- q [a man.]
manding or teach- q instructing.

ing, or q gover- q commanding.

ning justly & law-

fully q for [his] q for the cause of

commoditie sake : [his] commoditie,

whereof * appea- wherein standeth,

reth [that] great- * ariseth.

nesse of courage

and the contempt

of q worldly vani- q humane things.

Hence springeth in
man that greatness
of courage and con-
tempt of humane
things.

5. A fift difference ties. 5. Neither
is, that man onely indeede is * this a * that.
observeth order, small * power of * force.

measure and com- Nature & Reason,

lineesse in words and

deeds: and taking a that this one living

creature doth per-

ceive what Order

is, what q is ferm- q becommeth.

ly in deeds, and in

D words,

* what measure
[is to be observed]
in deeds & words.

* beauty, grace.

q convenience or
agreement.

q similitude or pro-
portion.
q transporting.

q fairenesse or
beautie.
* steadfastnesse.
q also to be kept.

q bewareth or ta-
keth heed.
q lest it doe any
thing.
q womanishly.

wordes, * what a proportion from
measure is. And the fairenesse of
therefore no other things that are
seen, it conveith it
living creature per- to the minde for
ceiveth the * faire- framing all speeches
nesse, comelineffe and actions accord-
ingly, that it do
and q proportion dingly, that it do
of the partes of all things comelily,
those same things no thing unseem-
lily.
which are percei-
ved by sight.

Which q resem-
blance, Nature &
Reason q convey-
ing from the eyes
unto the minde,
doth think q com-
lineffe, * constancy
[and] order q to
bee also observed,
much more in
counsellis and in
deeds; and q is
heedfull q that it
doth not any thing
uncomelily or effe-
minately; also that
it

it q neither do q do not nor thinke
not * thinke any ^{any thing.}
thing * wantonly, ^{* imagine.}
both in all opi- ^{* sensually.}
nions q or deedes. And

Hence ariseth that Of which things,
honesty which is that q honestie q honest thing.
heere sought out: which wee seeke is
which though it * forged and made: * framed.
were not scene nor which although
praised of any, yet it be not q ho- q made noble.
is praise worthy by noured, yet let it
nature. bee honourable:

* for wee say tru- * que for qm.
ly, though it be
praised of no man,
yet q it is prayse- q it to be laudable.
worthy by Nature.

And this bee teach- q You see doubt- q you see indeed.
eth to bee the verie lesse. (son Marke)
forme of honestie, the very forme
which scene with and as it were the
the eyes would stir face of honestie:
up in us a marue- which if it could be
lous love of vertue, beholden with the
eyes, it would stirre
up (as Plato saith)

D 2 q a

q admirable loves. q a marvelous love
of wisdom.

Chap. 6.

The Argument.

Of the foure
* chiefe or card- * Vertues, from
nall vertues. whence all the Du-
q of the common ties q of the com-
life, or belonging mon course of life
to life, doe q spring: [as]
q flowe abroad or wisdome, iustice,
proceed. q valour and tem-
q fortitude. perance, and of the
matter of every
one of them.

q All which is ho-
nest.

* every part or du-
tie of honesty.

q ariseth out of som
[part] of the foure
parts,

* branches or heads.
q occupied or con-
versant.

q full perceiving, or

BUT q whatso-
ever thing is
honest, q springeth
out of some one
of [these] foure
* fountaines. ¶ For
it is q exercised
either in the q wise
per-

In this sixth chap-
ter Tullie teacheth
that there are some
chiefe and cardinall
vertues, out of
which all other du-
ties do proceed: to
wit, Prudence, Ju-
stice, Fortitude,
Temperance.

Of everie of which
he first setteth down
the definition, then
the subjects about

which they are con-
versant.

1. As, that prudence
is a vertue, exercised
in spying out the
truth, & in cunning.

2. Iustice, is in pre-
serving the societie
of men, and giving
everie one their
owne.

3. Fortitude, in the
greatnesse of an in-
vincible courage.

4. Temperance, in
keeping order and
measure in all spee-
ches and actions.

perceiving of the
truth and skilful-
nesse: or in pre-

serving the * loci-
ety of men, and gi-

ving to * every one
that which is his
owne; and in the

* faithfull keeping
of contracts; or in
the * greatnesse &
power of a * haury
& invincible cou-
rage; or else in the

order and mea-
sure of all things
which are done

* & spoken, * when
in consisteth * mo-
destie and tempe-
rance. 2 Which

fower although
they be * wrapped
and * intangled to-
gether amongst
themselves, yet

* certaine severall

insight, or fear-
ching out.

* cunning or po-
licie.

* fellowship.

* everie bodie his
right.

* faithfullnesse of

things contracted;

viz. faithfull deal-
ing in all manner

of covenants,

* strength or worth

* high and incon-

querable minde.

* and which are

spoken.

* in which is in-

moderation or

discretion.

* tied or linked, knit

* folded one within

another.

* certaine kindes.

D 3 kinds

kindes of Duties Secondly, he shew-
 *spring or proceed. * doe growe out of eth how certaine se
 every one of them: verall duties issue
 as, out of that part out of each of these
 which was descri- as out of prudence
 bed first, wherein the finding out of
 wee place wisdom the truth.
 & prudence, & there
 is the searching
 & finding out
 of the truth; and
 this is the proper
 & function of that
 vertue. For as eve- Because as everie
 rie one perceiveth one best seeth the
 & most clearly, truth, and can best
 what is truest in e- give a reason there-
 very matter, and of, so he is accoun-
 & can both see and ted the most pru-
 dent.
 & give a reason
 most wittily and
 most readily, he is
 wont & to be right-
 ly accounted the
 most prudent and
 wise. 3 Wherefore 3. Thirdly, decla-
 truth. * is subject reth the subjects of
 to

& is in; & it issueth
 out.
 & invention.
 & office or work.
 & most of all or
 specially.
 & he that can.
 & expresse or render.
 & to be repured
 worthily.
 * is the subject
 thereof.

these vertues; that truth is the subject, about which prudence is chiefly exercised. But certaine necessities are the subjects of the other three vertues. As for example; To get and keepe these things where by mans life may be maintained, societie and neighbourhood preserved, the excellencie and greatnesse of his courage may be scene, by increasing substance, getting commodities for himselfe and his, & in disposing these humane things; are the subjects about which both Iustice and Fortitude are exercised.

to his, as the matter which it handleth, and in which it is exercised. But *q* conversant or occupied. necessities are *q* propounded to assigned, or are the other three the subiect. vertues, to get and keepe those things, *q* wherby the trade of [mans] life is maintained; that both the societie of men and *q* neighbourhood may be preserved, and his excellencie and greatnesse of courage may shine & appear. broad, both in increasing of *q* substance, and getting commodities both to himselfe & his, his [friends.] and also much more in despising these same things. Also

q in which the action of life is contained.
q coniunction.
q riches or wealth

q steadfastnesse,
keeping of a mea-
sure.

* added.
q resting or exer-
cising.

q adding or kee-
ping measure.

q handled or med-
led with.
* keepe.

Also order, & con- And fourthly that
stancy, and mode- Temperance is ex-
ration, and those crised in keeping
things which are order, constancie,
like unto these, are and moderation :
exercised in that whence doe chiefly
kinde, unto which proceed both ho-
a certaine action nestie and comli-
is to be adjoyned, nesse.
not onely an *q* oc- Lastly, hee noteth a
cupying of the difference between
mind. For we *q* ap- Prudence and the
plying a certaine other three duties.
meane and order That Prudence is
to these things only in the exercise
which are *q* practi- of the minde, the
sed in [our] life, other three are
shall* observe both chiefly scene in
honestie and com- outward actions.

Chap.

Chap. 7.

*Of Prudence the
 q chiefe of all ver- q princeſſe or prin-
 tues, and what is to cipall.
 be avoided in it, al-
 ſo what is to bee
 q embraced. q followed.*

In this chapter **N**OW of the *q And or but.*
 Tullie ſpeaketh of *q* foure *q* chiefe heads or
 Prudence : which *q* ces into which wee *q* common places.
 conſiſteth in the *q* have divided the
 knowledge of the *q* nature and *q* power *q* force or ſtrength.
 truth, *q* of honeſty ; that
 1. ſhewing it to be *q* firſt which conſi-
 the chiefe of all the *q* ſteth in the know-
 foure vertues, and *q* ledge of the truth,
 to concerne man- *q* doth *q* eſpecially *q* touch chiefly.
 kinde eſpecially : *q* concerne *q* man- *q* the humane na-
 And that, becauſe *q* kinde. For *q* wee *q* ture, or mans na-
 we are all drawne to *q* are all drawne and *q* we all are drawne.
 a deſire of know- *q* led to a deſire of
 ledge, thinking it *q* knowledge and
 a goodly thing to *q* skill. *q* Where- *q* ſcience.
 excell therein, and *q* in wee thinke it a *q* In which to excell
 contrarily as diho- *q* goodly *q* we account it, &c.
 neſt to be ignorant
 or deceived.

q passe others.

q But we account it both evill & dishonest, &c.

q an evill thing.

q both naturall.

q vices.

* must be shunned.

q have not or account not.

* which we knowe not, as though wee knewe them.

q assent unto them rashly.

q flee from.

q and.

* to desire.

q shall adde.

* leasure.

q matters to bee considered.

q there is another fault.

goodly thing to

q excell. q But to

slippe, to erre, to

bee ignorant, [and]

to be deceived,

wee account it

both q evill and

dishonest. In this

kind: [of vertue]

q being both natu-

rall and honest,

two q faults * are

to be avoided: the

one, that we q take

not things * un-

known for know-

en, and q rashly as-

sent unto them.

Which fault hee

who will q escape

(q as all ought * to

be willing) q must

bestow both * time

and diligence to

the q considering

of matters. q The

other fault is, that

some

2. He teacheth, that in prudence two faults, contrary thereunto, are to be avoided.

1. That wee take not things which wee knowe not, as though wee knew them, and so assent rashly unto them: and to this end, to bestowe both time & diligence to consider of matters.

The second is, that we bestowe not too

much studie & travell in matters both obscure & difficult, and also needlesse.

some [men] *q* imploy overgreat studie, & *q* too much travell *q* upon obscure and difficult matters, and the

q confer, or bestow. *q* much diligence. *q* upon things obscure, &c. viz. in darke and hard matters.

And these two faults being eschewed, that all care and diligence, bestowed in searching out things honest and worthy of our knowledge, shall deserve due commendation:

q same *q* not necessarie. Which faults being *q* avoided, *q* whatsoever diligence and care shall be *q* spent in things

q same [things.] *q* nothing necessarie, or needlesse. *q* shunned or eschewed. *q* what, &c. *q* put.

honest and worthy of knowledge, *q* shall be *q* rightly commended: *q* as, in Astrologie, wee

q it, the same. *q* praised by right, *q* as we have heard C. Sulpitius [to

As, Caius Sulpitius is commended for his knowledge and paines in Astrologie, Sextus Pompeius in Geometry, many in Logicke and the Civill law, & so in other good studies.

have heard of *Caius Sulpitius*; in Geometry, wee our selves have known *Sextus Pompeius*, many in Logicke, moe in the Civill

have travelled much or been verie excellent] in Astrologie.

Lawe; all which Arts are *q* exercised in the *q* searching out

q conversant or occupied. *q* tracing or finding out.

* through the.

q doing things, or following necessarie businesse.

q all the commendation.

q in doing or performing good duties.

q an intermission is made, or may be.

q many returns are given.

* unto the former studies.

q and also the tolling.

* ceaseth.

q keepe us.

q thinking or contemplation.

q labour.

q thought and moving.

q is conuersant.

out of the truth : Yet heere given as

* by the studie whereof, to bee drawen away from

q necessarie imployments, it is against Durie. For the q whole praise of vertue doth

consist q in action : from which yet oftentimes q there is an intermission,

& q there are granted q many recourses * unto studies :

q yea and the stirring of the minde which never * resteth, may q continue us in the studies of q meditation, even without our q travell. But every q cogitation and motion of the minde q ought to be

another Caveat; viz. that by such studies wee suffer not our selves to bee drawne away from more necessarie imployments. And that, because all the praise of vertue consisteth in action or performing Duties, from which yet there may be intermissions and returning to studie.

And also for that the verie meditation of the minde is a kinde of studie; though without any great travell.

Lastly, he concludeth this point with one other caution; To wit, that all our

thoughts be imployed, cyther in advising about honest matters, and which appertain to a blessed life, or in the studies of science and knowledge.

be occupied either in *q* taking advice *q* consulting. *q* about honest matters, and pertaining to live well & blessedly, or in the studies of science and knowledge. *q* And thus have wee spoken of the first fountaine of Durie.

q concerning honest things. ** to the good and blessed life.*

q And indeed.

Chap.8.

Of Iustice.

In this chapter Tullie 1. setteth out the nature of iustice that by it a humane society is preferred, and how it extendeth it selfe most largely of all the other three vertues.

BUT of *q* the other three [vertues] remayning, *q* that part extendeth it selfe the farthest, *q* where in the society of men amongst themselves and (as it were)

q three other vertues.

q that reason [or consideration] doth extend it selfe most largely. *q* wherein there is contained the society; &c.

were) the commun-
nity of life is con-
tained ; whereof
there are two parts:

q in which.

q spk m Jour.

* whereof.

q are named.

* bountifullnesse.

q to thi.

q it is lawfull to cal.

* gentleness.

q first.

q not any man hurt
any one.

q wrong.

* The next, or se-
condly.

* his owne, peculiar
for himselfe, or pri-
vate.

q But no.

Iustice, q wherein 2. He sheweth that
is the greatest there are two parts

q brightnesse of of it, viz. Iustice
vertue ; * which properly so called,

good men q have test glory of vertue,
their name, and and whereof good

* Beneficence joy- men are specially
ned q herunto, named : and Bene-

which same q wee may call boun. y or
may call either liberalitie.

* bountie or libe-
rality. But the

q principall dutie som speciall functi-
of Iustice is, that ons of Iustice : as,

q no man hurt 2. That no man hurt
another, unless he another but upon

bee] provoked by just cause. That
an q injurie : * And men use common

then that hee use things as common,
common [things] privat as their own.

as common, and
private [things] as

* his owne. q How-

beit

4. Hee teacheth be it no things are
 heereupon, how private by nature,
 by nature all things but either by an-
 were common, but cient * occupation, * possession or
 made private by as [of them] who tenure.
 these meanes fol- in time past came
 lowing, or the like: into * empty [pla- * waste grounds or
 as, By auncient te- ces:] or by victo- places without in-
 nure or occupation, habitant.
 by victorie, lawe, rie, as [of them]
 covenant, conditi- who q got [things] q obtained in warre.
 on, lot, &c. by warre: or by
 lawe, covenant,
 condition, lot.

Hence also he shew- q Whereupon it is q of which it is don-
 eth how things come to passe that
 have had their the q ground Ar- q field called Ar-
 names of their ow- pinas is * saide to pinas.
 ners, as the field bee of the Arpina- * accounted the
 Arpinas, of the Arpi- tians, the q Thuf- Arpinatians. [field]
 natiens, &c. culan [ground] of Thufculan,
 Hereupon also hee of the Thufculanes.
 gathereth these the Thufculanians.
 rules;

1. That everie one And the * descrip- * setting out.
 should content him tion of private pos-
 selfe with his owne sessions is q of this q like.
 so gotten: and that sort. q Whereup-
 whosoever cove- pon, * because part * such that.
 teth more then his of those things
 owne, violateth the which

q had bin.

* the owne
of every one.

* enjoy.

* chanced.
q to everie one or
to himselfe.

* befallen him.

* breake.
* offellowship a-
mongst men.

q Plato.

* onely.
q que for ex m.

* claime.

q our parents
[claime] a part.

* as the Stoicks
hold.

* that all.

which q were com- lawe of humane so-
mon by Nature, cietie.

* is become pro-
per to every one;

let every one* hold
that, which hath

* befallen q to
each. If any man

will covet greedily
unto himselfe

more than that, he
shall * violate the

law * of humane
societie. But be-

cause (as it is no-
tably written q by

Plato) we are born
not for our selves

* alone, q but our
Countrey doth

* challenge a part
of our birth, q our

parents a part,
our friends a part,

and (* as it plea-
seth the Stoicks)

* all things which
are bred for the

lawe of humane so-
cietie.

2. That for so much
as we are not borne

for our selves alone
(as Plato writeth

notably) but partly
for our countrie,

partly for our pa-
rents, partly for our

friends, and ech for
the good of others;

like as all creatures
are bred for the

good of man, so are bred in the
men especially for earth, * to be crea- are created.
the benefit of men ted for the use of
to profit one ano- men, and men to
ther; that we should be^q ^q bonne * for ^q begotten.
herein follow Na- the cause of men, * for mans cause.
ture as guide, in that^q they amongst ^q some may profit
communicating our commodities to others.
one another. And themselves may ^q benefit or helpe.
so by exchanging * profit one ano- * In this.
of kindneses, by ther: ^q Herein * we ^q we are bound.
giving and taking, ought to follow
by our cunning, nature [as] ^q a ^q a leader.
helpe, and riches to guide, and ^q to ^q to bring into the
binde all sorts unto bring abroad com- midst.
us in society and mon commodities,
good wil. by exchange of
Duties, in giving
and ^q taking, [and] ^q receiving.
to * binde together knitt.
the ^q society of ^q fellowship of men
man with man, amongst men,
both by arts and
by travell, and also
by riches.

Chap 9.

q fidelitie or faith-
full dealing.

q Faithfulnesse
[u] the foundation
of Iustice, from the
Etymology of the
word.

Al. And faithful-
nesse is the founda-
tion of Iustice.

* all agreements.

* more difficult.

q studiously.

Al. **B**Vt the fou-
ndation of Iustice is faith-
fulnesse : that is to
say, a constancy
and truth of words
and * covenants :
Whereupon, al-
though this per-
adventure shall
seeme * hard to
some man, yet we
may bee bold to
imitate the Stoicks,
who search out
q diligently from
whence words are
derived, and wee
may

In this 9. chapter
Tully 1. teacheth
what is the founda-
tion of all Iustice,
viz. faithfulnessse.
2. He defineth faith-
fulnessse, that it is
constancie & truth
in all our speeches
and agreements.
3. In imitation of
the Stoicks, who
search out diligent-
ly the derivation of
words, he sheweth
whence *fides* is na-
med, viz. a *fio* &
dico, because that is
performed which
was promised, so to
shew the nature
of it.

may *q* think *faith- *q*beleeve,
fulnesse to be cal- * that faithfulness
led, because *q* that is named thereof.
is * done which *q* that which was
was promised. * performed.

Chap. 10.

q [*There are*] *q* [*Tullie teacheth*
two kindes of inju- that there are] *two*
stice, as [there are] kindes of, &c.
* of justice : and * two kindes of,
from whence they *q* may arise or be
q come. derived.

Tully in this chap- **B**UT there are
ter teacheth 1. that two kindes
there are two kinds of injustice. The
of injustice, as there one [* is] of those * belongeth.
are of justice. men who *q* offer *q* ring in or doe
The one is of such [injury.] The o- injurie.
as doe injurie. ther of those who
The other of such ther of those who
who doe not save doe not * beate * put or drive away.
others from wrong backe an injurie
whenthey may. from them to
E 2 whom

Tullies Offices

whom it is offered,
if they be able.

2. For he that makes an assault upon any man unjustly, beeing stirred up either by anger or any passion, hee seemeth as it were q to lay violent hands upon his fellowe : and hee who * defendeth not, nor resisteth injurie if hee can, is as well in fault, as if he should forsake [his] parents, or friends, or country. 3. And indeed, those injuries which are done of set purpose q to hurt, doe oft times

2. He declareth the greatnesse of these faults by comparison. For the first : That hee who assaulted another upon anger or any like passion, doth, as it were, lay violent hands on his fellow. For the second : That he that saveth not another from wrong if hee can, is as well in fault, as if he should forsake his parents, friends or country. 3. He noteth the usuall causes of wrongs : as of those done rashly ; anger or some sudden passion.

q in-

* choler.

q perturbation.

q to bring violent hands to his fellow.

* doth not defend nor hinder injurie to be don to others.

q for the cause of hurting.

q come or proceed. q arise from feare :

q intendeth to hurt q thinketh.

another, feareth

* lest unlesse hee * that except.

Others done of set purpose, arise from feare of some evill to themselves unlesse they hurt others. Or from covetousnesse of getting riches, or a greedie desire of pleasures.

do that to another,

himselfe q should

be qannoyed with

some discommo-

dity. And [for] the

most parr, q ma-

ny men q take

occasion to doe

* wrong, that they

may obtaine those

things which they

q do earnestly de-

sire : in q which

kind of vice, cove-

tousnesse doth

q shew it self most

evidently. Riches

also, are earnestly

desired, both for

necessarie uses of

life, and also to en-

joy pleasures. But

in those in whom

there is q more los-

q shall incur some; damage.

q affected or touched.

q some.

q attempt.

* injurie.

q have coveted or earnestly desired.

q which vice.

q lie open or extend it selfe most largely.

Or else from ambition : as when men desire riches, either to be come great therby, or to pleasure others.

q a greater courage or stomacke.

q belongeth or hath a respect.
 q gratifying.
 q riches.
 q that any money or any summe of money was sufficient, &c.
 q with the fruits [or increase] whereof.
 * if he were not able to maintaine an armie with his re-
 venew.
 q nourish.
 q Allo.
 q preparations.
 q tricking or adorning.
 * hincesse.
 * meanes.
 q it is effected.
 q should be.
 tie minde, the cov-
 vering of money
 q hath an eye unto
 q power, and abi-
 lity of q pleasur-
 ring [others:] as
 of late *M. Crassus*
 denied q any sub-
 stance to bee suf-
 ficient for him,
 who desired to be
 a Prince in the
 common wealth,
 q with whose reve-
 nues he could not
 q maintaine an ar-
 my. q Moreover,
 sumptuous q fur-
 nitures do delight,
 and the q bravery
 of life with * ele-
 gancie and plenty;
 by which * things
 q it commeth to
 passe, that the de-
 sire of mony q is
 infinite.
 As in *M. Crassus*;
 who thought no
 man meet to bee a
 prince or chief man
 in the common-
 weale, unlesse hee
 were able with his
 revenues to main-
 taine an armie.
 Moreover, he shew-
 eth, that wrongs are
 committed for state-
 ly buildings, main-
 taining sumptuous
 furniture, for por-
 geoulnesse & plenty
 of all things: for
 which ends and the
 like, the desire of
 money is infinite.

4 Nci-

4. He giveth a Caveat, that the increase of a mans private estate is not to be dispraised, but only the wronging of others by it.

4 Neither indeed the enlarge-^q amplifying or increase of the ment of a mans private estate hurts ^{goods of a mans family.} no body, is to bee dispraised: but injurie is ever more to be ^q avoided or shunned.

5. He teacheth that the principall cause of injustice is ambition, when men fall into a vehement desire of honour & glorie, and chiefly of bearing rule. This hee proveth 1. By the testimony of Ennius: That there is no holy societie nor fidelitie in seeking or ruling a kingdome.

2. By reason.

Because in things wherein moe cannot excell together, such conventions fall out, as it is hard to keep a holy societie.

5 And ^q most ^q very many men are ^q exceedingly brought ^q brought especially. ^q to forget justice, ^q that a forgetfulness of justice whenas they ^q fall into a desire of should take them. rule, ^q honour, or ^q have or shall fall. ^q honour. of glory. For that which is in Ennius (*There is no ^q holy ^q sacred fellowship. societie, nor fidelitie of a kingdome*)

* doth extend it * reacheth further selfe more largely. For whatsoever is ^q of that sort, ^q of such sort, in * be chiefe. which moe cannot * therein falleth out * excell, * so great for most part so con- great contention.

q is made: or hap-
peneth.

contention q com-
meth to passe for
most part therein,
that it is a very
hard thing to keep
a holy societie.

* storme raised of
late by Caius Ce-
sar, &c.

q perverted or tur-
ned topsie turvie.

* the lawes of God
and man.

* for the cause of
that principallitie.

The * rashnesse of
Caius Cesar decla-
red that of late,
who q overturned
* all diuine and
humane lawes,
* for that soverain-
tie which hee had
imagined to him-
selfe by the errour
of [his] q conceit.

This point he also
further illustrateth
by the example of
Caius Cesar, who
had verie lately be-
fore overturned all
lawes both of God
and men, for ob-
taining that rule
which hee had for-
merly conceited.

q opinion.

And it is a grie-
uous thing in this
kinde, that the de-
sires of honour,
rule, power, and
glorie, are for the
most part in the

Lastly, he giveth
another Caveat in
regard hereof,
that sith these ambi-
tious desires of rule
and honour are for
the most part in the
greatest courages
and goodliest wits,
therefore all noble
mindes and excel-
lent wits should
chiefely take heed
hereof.

* stonest stomaks
or bravest mindes

* greatest coura-
ges, and goodliest
wits. By how much
more

more *q* wee are to *q* it is to be looked
take heed, *q* that to.
wee offend not at *q* lest it be any
all in that kinde. thing offended in
that kinde or be-
halse.

Chap. II.

*One injurie [is]
lighter than ano-
ther.*

In this chapter
1. he teacheth that
the nature & kinde
of the wrong is to
bee wisely conside-
red: whether the
injurie was don up-
on some sudden pas-
sion, or mature de-
liberation & advise.

BUT *q* it is espe- *q* it verie much
cially to bee concerneth.
considered in all
injustice, whether
the* injurie be don * wrong.
with *q* some passi- *q* any perturbation,
on of the minde, or upon a hot
which for most bloud as it is called
part is short & *q* for *q* to a time.
the present time,
or else* of purpose * of set purpose or
and advisedly. For consultation.
those *q* wrongs are *q* things
* lesse, which* hap- * easier.
pen * befall.

2. Hee giveth the
reason of the neces-
sity of this conside-

q motion or passion.

* devised & thought of before.

* prepared for.

* enough hath bin spoken.

q bringing in or offering injurie.

pen upon some ration, viz. Because sodaine q moode, those injuries which are done upon any such sudden passion are lighter and to be accounted lesse, than those which are done upon deliberation and as it were of set purpose.

Chap. 12.

Here he sheweth the causes from whence the second kinde of injustice may arise.

q spring or growe.

q And.

q moc.

q premitting, to defend one another.

q forsaking.

q they will not.

1 q **M**oreover Tully declareth in there are this chapter.
wont to be q many 1. That there may be sundrie causes of the second kinde of causes of q omitting [our] defence, injustice, viz. of omitting the just defence of our neighbour.
and of q leaving [our] Dutie.
2 For either q men are 1. He setteth down

divers of those causes: as, for avoiding either the ill will of others, or of their travell or charges. Or else for that they are hindered by negligence, sloth or by their owne private studies or businesse.

are unwilling *q* to undertake, displeasure, or travell, or charges: or else they bee so hindered with negligence, sloth, idleness, or else by their owne private studies, or by certaine *q* businesse, *q* occupations, that they suffer them to bee *for-* saken, whom they ought *q* to defend. *q* to take upon them or undergoe. *q* enmities or all will. *q* cost. *q* sluggishnesse, ignorance or cowardlinesse.

3. He warneth that men doe not therefore think themselves just, and that they have done their duties (as some Philosophers do) because they are employed in the studie of learning, or for that they contemne the world, which most

3. *q* Wee must therefore take heed, that wee doe not thinke, *q* that to be sufficient, which is spoken *q* of Plato in behalfe of the Philosophers; *q* that they are therefore just, because they are employed in *q* finding out Therefore we must looke. *q* lest it be not sufficient. *q* in Plato concerning the Philosophers. *q* [them] to be just therefore. *q* conversant or exercised. *q* tracing or searching out of the truth.

Tullies Offices

q depise.

q account for nothing or make no reckoning of.

q most part of men.

**greedily seeke after.*

q concerning which.

q to fight with swords, contend or braule.

q offering injurie.

q letted by a desire of getting learning.

q in truth he thinketh.

q them uot about to come to the com-

out the truth, and because they *q* con- men so dote upon, and so leave the defence of others.

temne and *q* set at nought those things which *q* most men doe **vehe-*mently desire, [&]

q for which they are wont *q* to be at daggers drawing amongst themselves.

For whilst they attain the one kinde of justice, that they hurt no man in *q* doing of wrong, they fall into the other : for being *q* hindred by the studie of learning, they forsake [the] whom they ought to defend. Therefore *q* hee indeed thinketh, *q* that they would not enter into the affaires

And then giveth the reason hereof; Because hereby, whilst that they avoid the one kinde of injustice, that they hurt no man, they fall into the other, viz. to forsake them whom they ought to defend.

And that there-upon they cannot be drawne to any ser-

of

vice in the common-
weale, but by con-
straint; Whereas of
the contrarie, hee
teacheth, that all
such service for the
good of others, e-
specially for the co-
monwealth, ought
to be voluntary, &
that then onely it is
just.

After, he rehearseth
some other causes
why men use to
leave the defence or
helping of others: as
for saving their
substance, or upon
some hatred, grudge
or the like.

And yet, that they
to this end pretend
their own businesse,
or lest they should
seem to doe wrong
to others.

So that hereby they

of the common
weale, & unlesse
they were compel-
led. But it were

* more equall to
be done & volunta-
rily. For whatso-
ever is & rightly
done, & the same is
thereby just, if it be
voluntarie. There

be also, who either
for a * desire of
* saving their sub-
stance, or & for
some hatred to
men, do say, & that
they & looke unto

their own busines;
lest they & should
seeme to do wrong
to any man: who
whilst they are free
from the one kind
of injustice, doe
runne into the o-
ther. For they for-
sake

monweale, or to in-
termeddle in.

& but compelled or
inforced, or were
they not compelled.

* more reason that
it should be done,
& with good will,
without constraint.
& well done.

& that same is just,
so if it be done vo-
luntarily.

* love.

* looking to their
household affaires.

& by a certaine hate
or some grudge.

& themselves to do,
or to follow.

& may be thought.

* fellowship.

q nothing of study,
nothing of labour,
nothing of sub-
stance.

q Because therefore
after we have decla-
red the two kindes
of iniustice.

q either kinde.

q to iudge easily.

* love or flatter our
selves too much.

q it is hard to take
care of other mens
matters.

q Terentian
Chremes.

q thinketh nothing.

take the * society
of life, because

they bestowe q no
studie upon it, no
labour, nor sub-

stance. q Seeing
the that two kinds
of iniustice being
propounded, wee

have adioyned the
causes of q both
kindes, and have
set downe those
things before, in
which iustice is co-
tained, we shall be
able q easily to iud-
ge (unlesse we will

exceedingly * fa-
vour our selves)

what is the iurie
of every season. For

q the care of other
mens matters is

difficult, though
that q Chremes in

Terence q accoun-
teth

forlake the society
of life, whilst they
will neither bestow
any of the studie,
travell or substance
for the helping of
others.

By these things
rightly considered,
he teacheth that
men may bee able
easily to iudge, what
duty is required at
every time and sea-
son; unlesse they be
too partiall and o-
vermuch love
themselves.

Yet herein he shew-
eth that it is a verie
hard matter, to take
care of other mens
businessse as wee
ought: howsoever
Chremes in Te-
rence thinketh o-

therwise; and after
 giveth the reason
 herof, which is this;
 for that wee have
 more feeling of
 those things which
 happen to our sel-
 ves, than of those
 which befall others;
 because we behold
 other mens estates
 as it were a great
 way off, but our
 owne more necerely.

nothing ap- to be strange to him
 pertaining to map, of that which ap-
 to bee * strange to, pertaineth to man.
 him. q Nevertheless, * estranged from.
 q But yet.

lesse, because wee
 perceive and feele
 those things more,
 which happen un-
 to our selves, q ei- q either prosperous
 ther luckily, or un- or cross.

fortunately, than
 those things [which
 q happen] to q- q befall
 thers, which wee
 behold, * as it * as ye would say.

were, a great way
 off; we judge o-
 therwise of them,
 than of our selves.

Lastly, for a conclu-
 sion, he commen-
 deth that precept of
 such wise men, as
 who forbid a man
 to doe any thing
 whereof hee doubt-
 eth, whether it bee
 right or wrong.
 Because the right is
 apparent of it selfe,

Wherefore they
 q give a good pre- q command or
 cept, who forbid teach well

to doe any thing,
 which you doubt
 of, whether it bee
 right or wrong.

For, q the right it q equitie it selfe.
 shi-

* is apparant.
 q by it selfe.
 q declareth.
 q a cogitation of
 injurie.

* shineth q of it but the verie doub-
 selfe: but doubting ting intimateth an
 q signifieth q an ima- imagination of a
 gination of wrong. wrong.

Chap. 13.

Tully teacheth
 * Duties to be ca-
 * that duties are. ried q in regard of
 q for circumstances circumstances; and
 q officious. that which was q a-
 greable to Dutie, to
 q it be departed. be made against du-
 ty two waies especi-
 ally: if either q there
 be a departing from
 profit, or the lesse
 profitable be prefer-
 red before the more
 profitable; moreover
 q Apex is taken for to be sometimes be-
 the highest top of sides Dutie to stick
 anything; here for too much in q the
 nice quiddities or swift words of law.
 extremities of law.

But

In this chapter he teacheth, 1. That Duty may be altered in regard of circumstances; & that which seemeth meet for a just and good man, may become cleane contrarie: as for example; That it may sometimes bee lawfull & meet, not to restore a thing committed to us in trust: as also, not to performe a promise made to mad men: & sometimes to deny those things, which otherwise truth & faithfull dealing would require.

And then giveth the reason heereof,

Because it is meet that all such matters

But the 3 time *season. doth fall out, q fall out often. when those things which seeme most q meete for a just q worthy of man, and him whom wee call a good man, are changed & made * become cleane contrarie: q as, not otherwise. to restore a thing q as, it may be just, committed to us &c, to keepe; also not to performe a promise made to a q mad man; and q furious. sometimes to deny and not keep those things which appertaine to truth and unto fidelity, may be just. For q it is meet q that q it becommeth. they bee referred q [them] to be referred. to those foundations of justice, F which

which I laid down in the beginning: be limited by those two foundations of justice layd downe before; viz.

* that hurt be done to no man.

* next.

q it be served to the common profit, viz that the common commoditie be preferred.

q duty is changed when as &c.

* remains not.

q the same.

q for some promise may fall out and covenant.

q that it may be unprofitable to be effected,

* that.

* reported in stories.

* performed.

1. First * that no man be hurt; * and

then that q there be a respect had to the common commoditie. q When these things are changed by the time, Dutie is changed, that * it is not alwayes q alike.

q For there may fall out some promise & covenant,

q which to be performed, may bee unprofitable either to him to whom it is promised, or else to him * who promised

it. For if (as it * is in the Fables) Neptune had not done that, which he

1. That no man be hurt. 2. That there be a respect had to the generall good, or commonweale. And that so, duties may bee altered according to times and occasions as these fall out.

2. He sheweth what promises and covenants a man is not bound to keepe.

As first, such promises as the performance of proveth hurtfull either to him to whom they are promised, or to him that hath promised them.

This he illustrateth by the evill that came upon the performance of that promise which Neptune made to

Theseus for granting him three wishes. The last whereof was the death of his owne son Hippolitus; which in his furie he had desired: which promise being performed accordingly, hee fell into most grievous lamentation.

he had promised to * See the marginall note in the latine booke. *Theseus, Theseus* had not beene *q* bereft of his sonne *Hippolitus*. For of [his] three * wishes (as *q* booke it is written) this was the third, which *q* in his fury hee * wished *q* he being angry: * concerning the death of *Hippolitus*: which being obtrayned, hee fell into *q* most grievous lamentation. *q* the greatest mourning.

Hence hee concludeth, that neyther such promises are to be kept; nor such as may more hurt him who promised, than they can benefit him to whom they are promised.

Therefore *q* neither are those promises to be kept, which are unprofitable to them, to whom you have made them; nor if they hurt you more, than they *q* benefit him to whom you have

F 3 * pros

* made the promise.

* that the greater lesse should be.

* harme.

q put before or preferred to the lesse.

q shall appoint or promise.

* that you will come to be an advocate or counsellour to speake for another in his matter which is in hand.

q doe.

* promised.

q it was promised.

q depart.

q complaine himselfe to be left destitute.

* promised. It is against Dutie, the

greater * damage

to be q rather admitted than the

lesse : as, if you q have appointed

your self to come as an advocate to

any man upon a present occasion,

and in the meane time your sonne

shall begin to bee grievously sicke, it

cannot be against Dutie, nor to q per-

forme that which you * said ; and he

to whom the promise was made,

should more

q swerue from Dutie, if hee q should

complainte that he was disappointed,

Now who seeth

not

And then giveth a reason of both.

For that it is against

Duty, to admit rather of the greater

evil than the lesse; and also giveth an

instance of the latter kinde.

As, if an advocate should promise his

client that he would pleade his cause at

such a time ; and in the meane while

his son fals grievously sicke that he

cannot be for him ; that it is not against

Duty for the advocate to be absent in

this case : and that the client should

more swarve from Duty, if hee should

complainte that he was disappointed,

than the other by his absence.

So likewise he teacheth that men are not bound to such promises as they made, enforced by feare, or drawne in to by deceipt. Lastly, hee sheweth that for such promises men are discharged of them either by the court of conscience, or some statute law.

not q that it is not q not to be stood
 necessarie to stand to, or that we are
 to those promises, not to stand to, or
 which q a man hath that it is not meet
 promised, beeing q any m, n. to &c.
 either constrained
 by feare, or deceiver by guile?
 which things in most of which
 deed, q for most things
 part, q are discharged q most of them are
 freed.
 ged by the Pretors * Chanecery of
 Court, and many Courst Conscience.
 of them by q sta- q Lawes, or statute-
 tutes. lawes.

Chap. 14.

q In Duties be. q Equity is to be
 longing to the law, looked to in law
 we are not to stick matters.
 in the q words [of q Offices or mat-
 the law] [but] e- terts
 quite is to be looked
 unto.

F 3 q More.

¶ Also wrongs are
oft times.

¶ but.

¶ naughty or wre-
sted misconstruing.

¶ The chiefest or
utmost, or the vi-
gour of law.
¶ chiefe.
¶ made.
¶ worne.

¶ Speech or com-
munication.

¶ in the common-
weale.

¶ league of peace.
¶ truce of a hun-
dredth and thirtie
daies were coven-
ted with the enemy.

¶ Moreover, there doe
oft times injuries
arise by a certaine
cavillation, & too
craftie ¶ and ¶ sub-
tile interpretation
of the lawe.

¶ Whereupon
that [saying] viz.

¶ Extremity of
lawe is the ¶ ex-
tremest injurie, is
now * become a
¶ common pro-
verb in [our]

¶ talke. ¶ In which
kinde many things
are done amisse,
even ¶ in the com-
mon-weale mat-
ters: as hee who
when ¶ truce was
taken with the e-
mie for a hundredth
and thirtie dayes,
¶ spoi-

Tully in this
chapter declareth,
how injuries oft-
times are commit-
ted by cavilling &
subtile misconstru-
ing or wresting of
the lawe.

This he proveth,
¶ By that common
proverb: That the
extremity of law is
the extreamest in-
jurie.

¶ By usuall experi-
ence in the com-
mowwealth, whereof
he giveth two no-
table examples of
crafty dealers.
One of which
(whose name he o-
mitteith) having
made truce with
the enemy for thir-
ty daies, spoiled his

land in the nights; *q* spoiled his *q* land *q* destroyed, wasted
 pretending that the in the night, be- or overranne
 trace was taken on- *q* fields by night.
 ly for the daies, and cause *q* the truce *q* the truce of daies
 not for the nights, was take for daies, and not of nights
 and not for nights. were covenanted.

q No nor yet indeed *q* neither truly.

q our countrie- *q* ours.
 man is to bee *q* ap- *q* allowed of.

proved of, if it
 bee true, *q* that *q* Quintus Fabius.

Quintus Fabius

Labro or any other

(for I have no-

thing but by heare-

say) being *q* ap- *q* given.

pointed by the

Senate to bee an

* arbitratour *q* be- * umpire or daies-

tween the Nolanes man.

* and Neapolitanes *q* to the Nolanes.

* concerning the * and them of Na-

plex.

bounds of their * about.

Land, when hee

came to the place,

q did commune *q* to have spoken

with them both a- with either of them

part, that they severally.

should

The other example
 is of Quintus Fa-
 bius Labeo : who
 (as the report wēt)
 being appointed by
 the Senat of Rome,
 for an arbitratour
 betweene the No-
 lanes and the Nea-
 politanes about the
 setting out of the
 bounds of their
 lands, communed
 with both sides a-
 part, perswading
 them to do nothing

Tullies Offices

*greedily.

q set backe or retire.

* encroche one up-
on another.

* which when ei-
ther of them had
done.

Al. on both sides.

* there was a parcell
of ground, &c.
set out or bounded.

* yielded.

* eschewed.

q thing or case.

should not do nor covetously, & that
desire any thing eyther side would
rather give backe
* covetously, and then forward, in re-
that they would gard of peace, and
rather q goe backe that they might not
then * go forward. seeme to incroche
* When Al both upon one another.
of them had done Which when both
it, * some ground sides had yielded
was left in the unto, there was a
midst. Therefore peece of ground
hee so q limited left in the midst be-
their bounds, as tween them; which
they had * saide; hee adjudged from
[and] adjudged both to the people
that which was of Rome.
left in the midst,
unto the people of
Rome.

This verily is to
deceive, not to
judge. Wherefore
such subtilty is to
be * avoided in e-
very q matter.

But this dealing he
accounteth to bee
rather to deceive
than to arbitrate; &
so admonisheth all
to beware of it.

There bee also Lastly, he teacheth
certaine Duties to that there are Du-
be

ries of Iustice to be
executed upon
them who do such
wrongs, and giveth
the reason thereof;
That it is not al-
waies sufficient that
hee who hath done
the wrong bee sorie
for it, but that hee
be punished also
sometimes; and that
for two causes.

bee observed even
towards them, of
whom you have
received wrong.

For there is a
measure both * of * in revenge and
revenge and puni-
shing. And [indeed]

I * know not whe- * wot not.
ther it be sufficient
q that hee who
q began should q him who began
[onely] repent of to repent of his in-
jury.
his injury, but that q provoked.

1. That he may not
doe the like after.
2. That others also
may bee terrified
from doing wrong
by his example.

hee be] punished,
that hee commit
not q the like of- q any like thing.
fence after, and o-
ther also may bee
the slower to doe
wrong.

Chap.

Chap. 13.

Hitherto [Tullie
hath spoken] of ci-
uill Iustice: now [he
discourseth] of war-
like Duties; And
maketh two kindes
of warre, to both of
which these things
are common; that

q the warres.

q they be not under-
taken but upon iust
causes; that they be
not entred into, but

q matters required
or challenged, viz.
the things which
they who begin,
would require.

q their demaundes
first made, [nor] un-
lesse [they bee] so-
lemnly proclaimed:
that they may bee
rightly atchieved,

* we use no cruelty. that * wee bee not
cruell above mea-
sure against them
who are overcome.
Also that they who
yeeld

yeeld themselves be
received more cur-
teously; that fidelitie
bee performed to an
enemie even privat-
ly, not onely in so-
lenn agreements. q covenants.
But these things are
proper; that we deale
more mildly with
this kinde of ene-
mies who strive for
soveraigntie; more
severely with them
who seek our life.

Tully heer discour-
seth of military du-
ties, and teacheth;
1, That the lawes of
Armies are chiefly
to be observed in a
Commonweale.
2. That whereas
there are two kinds
of contention, the
one in debating
matters by reason,
the other by force;
1 q Moreover
the laws q Also.
of q armes are to q warre.
be q specially kept q preserved in any
in a common weal. wile.
2 For whereas
there are two kinds
of contention, one
by q reasoning, 2- q disputing or de-
nother by * force; bating the matter.
and whereas that is * violence.
q the

q proper.

q if.

q truly.

q undertaken.

* to this end and purpose.

q that.

q it may lived [of us.]

* they ought to be saved.

q be cruell in war.

q fierce, savage or outrageous.

q Equies.

q the property of man, this of beasts; we must fly to the later, q when wee cannot use the former.

3 Wherefore q in very deed, warres are to bee q taken in hand * for q this, that q we may live in peace without injurie.

4 And the victory being gotten, * they are to bee preserved who have not q beene cruell nor q unmercifull in fight : as our ancestours received even into [their] Citie, the Thuscians, q Equians, Volscians, Sabines, [and] Her-nicks ; but they q ut-

and that the first of these being proper onely to man, the other more belonging to the beasts; that we are then only to flie to the later when we cannot prevaile by the former.

3. Sheweth, for what cause wars are undertaken. viz. That men may live in peace without injurie.

4. What is to bee done when the victory is gotten, viz. That they bee preserved who have not carried themselves cruelly in the fight.

This he illustrateth by the example of their ancestours, who received some such even into the citie, as the Tuscianes, Equies, &c. when as they utterly raised

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and spoiled other cities, as Carthage and Numance. And so likewise Corinth; though he thinketh that this was done onely in regard of the situation of it; lest the place might have encouraged them to new warre. Here he giveth this generall advice;

utterly razed q tooke away [or Carthage and Numance. q I would q I would not Corinth: they had not so razed Corinth: but q I take it, that they chiefly respected the situation of the place, lest the very place might at any time

q incourage them q provoke them to move warre. make warre.

That men should alwaies consult for peace, so farre as it may bee free from danger of treachery. This he teacheth by the effects, that if they had done this as hee would, they had had a flourishing commonweale, which now was none in respect.

q Certainly in my minde, q we ought alwaies to advise for peace, q which may be free from feare of treachery.

Wherein q if they would have yeelded unto me, wee should have had, although not the

q best, yet some q best [common-Common weale, weale.] which now is none

it is to be provided for them.

q have overcome.

q then they who their weapons being laide away fly to the fidelitie of the Emperours.

q Aries is an engine called a ram; which served in warre to beate downe walls. q smitten downe, q in which thing. q so verie greatly. q at or without.

* unto their fidelitie.

q overcome, subdued. q of them; viz. of those cities and nations. * after the manner.

none. But whereas 1. That as the conquerors are to provide for the safetie of all whom they shall subdue, except such who have carried themselves cruelly; so more especially q who yeelding up their weapons, fly unto the mercy of the governours, are to bee received, although q the ram hath qbattered the wall. q In which point, iustice hath beene q so much regarded q amongst our men, that they who had received that mercy Cities or Nations q conquered in warre, should bee patrones q of the same, * by the custome of [our] ancestors

This he commendeth by the example and custome of their aunccestors, that made such conquerours as had received to mercy cities or nations, to become patrones of the same.

6. Hee declareth cestours. And q in q truly
that the justice of very truth the qju- q equicie.
war, is most holily stice of warre is
set downe in the * described most * set downe.
law of the heralds * holily in the q fe- * sincerely.
of the Romanes; & ciall law of the q law of the heralds
that therein it may people of Rome. who were to pro-
be scene what clame warre.
warre is just, viz. q Whereby it may q of which.
No war but which bee understood,
is moved upon de- q that no warre is q no war to be just.
mands first made, just, but which ei-
or proclaimed so- ther is q moved, q done.
lemnly, or bidden q demands being q things being first
by open defiance. first made; or wen claymed.
7. He setteth down q is proclaimed be-
certaine other spe- foie, and q bidden qdenounced solem-
cial Duties to be by defiance. Pom- ly or published.
observed in warre. pilius q the General q the Emperour.
1. That no souldier [of the Romanes]
be admitted to fight with the ene- kept a Province, in
mie, but being first whose armie q Ca- q the sonne of Ca-
solemnly sworne. toes sonne, being a to; a novice.
This he sheweth by young souldier,
the authoritie of q did serve. q And q did play the
Cato, writing to souldier.
Pompilius the Ge- whenas it q plea q But.
nerall, under whom q seemed good to.
his sonne was a q send away or dis-
young souldier: q band charge.

q legion of soldiers.

q of fighting.

q should suffer.

q tarry.

q binde him by a second oath of warfare.

q the former [oath] being lost, hee might not fight by right &c.

q chiefe obseruation they had.

q moving or managing their warre.

q an epistle [extant] q being an eld man.

q him selfe to have heard.

q band, he dismissed also *Cato* son, who served in the same band. But whenas hee remained still in the army, for the love

q of the warres, *Cato* writ unto

Pompilius that if he suffered him to

q remaine in the army, hee should

q swear him again; because q he being

discharged of his former oath, might

not lawfully fight with the enemies.

So q great regard there was in q ma-

king warre. There is q a Letter of

Marcus Cato q the elder, to *Marcus*

Also by another his sonne; where-

Letter of his, to his sonne; That where-

That, whereas hee had heard, that hee had dismissed his sonne, upon the occasion of dismissing that band where in hee was, hee should not suffer him to remaine in the army, much less to fight, unlesse hee sware him againe; Because he being discharged of his former oath might not lawfully fight, unlesse hee was sworne againe.

he

as he heard that he hee had heard,
being then a souldier q that hee was dis- q him to have bin
ier in the Persian charged by the dismissed.
war was discharged
by the Consull, q being a q whenas he was
should not enter souldier in Mace- a souldier.
the battell to fight : donia in the Per-
because it was not sian warre. Hee
lawfull for him who therefore q warneth q admonisheth him
was not a souldier, him that he * be- to.
to fight with the e- ware, that he enter * take heed.
nemie ; signifying not q the battell : q into the battell.
that none indeed for hee denyeth
were souldiers but * it to be lawfull * that it was lawfull.
those which stood
sworne.

[for him] who is
not * a souldier to * a sworne souldier.
fight with the ene-
mie.

A second is, that
there bee as much
mildenesse shewed
to the enemy as
may be.

This he proveth by
the example of their
auncestours ; who
gave to the enemy
the fairest name
they could : as by
calling him who
was properly *perdu-
ellus*, viz. a stubborn
enemy, *hostis*, mea-

2. And q certain- q in good truth do-
ly I note q this, observe.
that hee q who by q that,
his proper name q who was a stub-
was *perduellus* borne enemy by a
[*id est*] * a stubborn a proprietie of
emie, was called speech.
hostis [meaning] * an open enemy.
q a stranger ; the q a souldier or man
mildenesse of the of war.

G word

q sorrowfulnesse.
* matter.

* amongst.

* in these words,
Ant, &c.

q gentlenesse or
moderation.

q soft or milde.

* wage warre.
q long continuance.

* odious.

q hath.

wordes asswaging
the q haynoulneis
of the * thing. For
he was called *hostis*
* with our an-
cestours, whom now
wee name *peregrini-*

um, [a stranger.]

The twelve tables
declare [the same]

* *Ant statim dies*
cum hoste; and a-
gaine, *Adversus*
hostem aeterna au-
thoritas.

What
may bee added to
this q mildenesse,
to call him by so
q faire a name,
with whom you
* make warre?

Although q pro-
cesse of time hath
now made that
name more * hard:
for it q is departed
from the name of

ning a stranger or
foreiner, according
to the auncient cu-
stome; so mitiga-
ting the hainoulneis
of the thing by the
mildenesse of the
word.

This bee proveth
moreover by the
lawes of the twelve
tables, wherein the
obstinate enemy is
usually called *hostis*,
intimating a stran-
ger.

Although he shew-
eth that through
processe of time the
word *hostis* is used
properly for the o-
pen enemy, who
proudly beareth
armes against us.

Pere-

Peregrinus, [that
is to say, a stran-
ger] and * q remai- * standeth.
neth properly * for q remained pro-
him who q beareth perly, * in him, viz.
armes against any stands for &c.
one. q bare armour of
the contrary part.

A third Dutie is, 3 q Also when q But.
That when the war q there is fighting q it is contended,
is onely for sove- q for soveraigntie, viz. the conten-
rentie and glory, as & glory is fought tion is.
there must bee the by warre; yet it be- q concerning em-
same just causes of hooveth alwaies, pire, viz. about go-
war, mentioned be- q that there be the vurning or ruling,
fore: so that warre q the causes to be who shall rule.
must be made with very same just cau- q the causes to be
as little cruelty as ses of warre, which the same altogether
may be. I spake of a little which I said a little
before. But those just causes of war.
warres q in which q to which.
the glory of q so- q empire or bea-
veraigntie is pro- ring rule.
pounded, are to be
made q with lesse q lesse bitterly.

This he illustrateth
1. by an argument
from the like, taken
from the manner of
cruelty. For as
when wee contend
q in civill matters, q civilly.
wee doe one way

G 2 qif

*if it bee against an enemy: otherwise
 if against a competitor or * a suter
 against us. *q* the strife of honour & dignitie is with the one.

q of the head.

* waged.

q bee.

q war was holden with the Latines. *q* Penes.

q it was foughten. *q* dominion, viz. who should beare rule. *q* Penes.

*if he be an enemy [with whom wee contend]: otherwise if * a competitor: [*for*] *q* with the one the strife [*is*] for honour and dignitie, with the other *q* for life and honestie. Thus warre was *holden with the Celtibers, and with the Cimbrians as with enemies, whether should *q* live, not whether should beare rule: but *q* with the Latines, Samites, Samnites, *q* Carthagineans, [*and*] with Pirrhus, Pyrrhus for the *q* the fight was about the *q* Empire. The *q* Carthaginians [*were*] truce-breakers. *Anniball* [*was*]

our contention in civill matters. That is in civill strife wee deale one way with an enemy, with whom we contend for life & honestie; and another way with a competitor who contendeth with us onely for honour & dignity: so must it be in warlike matters. After, hee further manifesteth it by particular examples: As by the warre against the Celtibers & Cimbrians, which was as against enemies for life: and contrarily against the Latines, Sabines Samnites, Carthagineans & Carthagineans & Pyrrhus for the empire only, where in they dealt fairer, though some of these enemies were truce-breakers and too cruell.

[was] cruell, the
rest [were] more

Thirdly, he sheweth just. *q* That is *q* That indeed is,
it by a noble saying doublelesse *q* a no- *q* a worthy sentence
of Pyrrhus, about ble saying of *Pir-* or speech.
the restoring of pri- *rhus*, about resto- *q* concerning cap-
soners, comprized ring of prisoners. tives to be restored.
in verse by Ennius, to this effect;

Neither require
That he sought not I gold *q* for my *q* to my selfe.
gold but victorie; self, neither shal he
neither would hee give me any price; * summe of money
have the trial made or hire.
with gold, but Neither *q* [are we
with the sword. such us] *q* make a *q* playing the huc-
gaine of warre, but sters with war.
q making war.
q warriours.

Let both of us
q make triall for *q* trie out or fight
our life, with the for our life.
q sword, not with *q* iron.
gold.

Whether *q* Lady *q* the mistresse will
Fortune will have have it, &c.
you or mee to
reigne, *q* or what *q* or what fortune
may betide. may bring.

Let us try by
q valour, and with- *q* vertue.

G 3 all

¶ speech.

all take this ¶ an-
swere;

¶ the vertue of
whom.

¶ shall he spared.

¶ It is determined,
me to spare.

¶ Whose man-
hood the fortune
of war ¶ shall spare,
¶ I have determi-
ned to spare their
freedome.

So that hee who
should win it by the
sword should weare
it, with as hartie
good will as the
great Gods gave it.

¶ Account it for a
gift. ¶ and I give
it, with the great
Gods willing.

¶ Accept it: ¶ for
I give it, with the
good liking of the
great gods.

This he commen-
deth for a princely
saying, and well be-
seeming one descē-
ding from Achilles.

¶ Truly a regall
[or kingly] sentēce,
and worthy the
stocke of the Eaci-
danes.

¶ A Princely
saying indeed, and
well beſeeming

A fourth precept is,
That the verie pri-
uate souldiers per-
forme their word to
the enemy, though
they promised, be-
ing enforced there-
unto, by the occa-
sion of the times &
straights whereun-
to they were drivē.
This hee declareth
also by examples;
first of Regulus a
worthy Roman:

See the margent
Lapin.

¶ the lineage of
the Eacidanes,

¶ the nation.

¶ Likewise also

¶ And also if everie
one by themselves.

if ¶ private men,

¶ led or drawne by
the times, viz upon
such extremities.

¶ enforced by oc-
casions, shall pro-

¶ fidelitie is to be
kept in the same
verie thing.

mise any thing to
the enemy, ¶ they

must keepe their
promise therein :

as *Regulus*, being

taken by the Car-
tha-

who in the first Punike war, being taken prisoner by the Carthagineans, and [who] when hee by them sent to Rome was sent to Rome & had bin sent. Rome about the exchanging prisoners, having sworne that he would returne unlesse he obtained the exchange of them; hee both diswaded the matter [as incommo- dious] and chused rather to returne to the enemy, to endure any punishment (though he was much staied by his friends) than to breake his promise given to them. ^{first} Punick-war: * war of Carthage [who] when hee was sent to Rome & had bin sent. q about the exchanging of prisoners, q concerning the interchanging. and had sworne q that hee would q himself to return. returne; first, q as q as he came. soone as he came, q his advice was q he thought not in the Senate the prisoners to be restored. rather to returne to house, that the prisoners should not be restored: afterwards, when * he was staied by * he should have his kinsfolkes and bin retained or friends, q hee was stopped of his, more willing to re- q chused rather, turne to punishment, than to q breake his promise given to the enemy. And in the second Punike warre, after q the Cannas bat- field tell.

or field, viz. battel field at Canes,
fought there.

q left in the com-
mon treasure, or to
pay to the common

treasure, or disfran-
chised and put from
their freedome to
pay as strangers.

verb. which ten An-
nibal sent to Rome
bound with an
oath themselves to
returne, except

they had obtained
concerning the re-
demeing of those
which were taken;
the Censors left
them all in fines [or

to pay yecrely
fines] who had for-
sworne, so long as
any of them lived.

q nor lesse [or and
no lesse] him who
had found a fault by
the deceiving of his
oath.

q gone out by An-
nibals licence.

* within a little
while after.

q because.

q verb. the Censors

q lesse all those

tenne at a yearly

fine so long as any

of them lived, who

had forsworne

themselves: which

Annibal sent to

Rome bound by

oath, that they

should returne, ex-

cept they obtained

the ransomng of

those that were

prisoners [at

Rome:] q & him

likewise who had

found an excuse

by deluding his

oath: For when-

as hee had q got-

out of the Campe

by the permission

of Annibal,* he re-

turned a little after,

q for that he sayd,

q he

The second exam-
ple is of the Cen-
sors of Rome: who
fined all thoseten
at an yearly fine,
during their lives,
who had falsified
their othes, where-
by they had bound
themselves to An-
nibal the enemy
that they would re-
turne to him, un-
lesse they obtained
the ransomng of
certaine prisoners
at Rome. And so
dealt they likewise
with one other,
who deluded the
oath which he had
taken, by a kinde of
equivocating, so
imagining himselfe
free. For he having
sworne to returne,
so soone as ever hee
was gotten with-
out the campe, he
returned presently,
as if hee had forgot

something: & then getting himself out of the campe again, he thought himself quit from his oath; as hee seemed in words, though indeed hee was not. *q* hee had forgot-*q* himselfe to have forgotten. I knowe not what. And then being gone [again] out of the campe, hee thought himselfe * freed from his oath; and [so] his oath. *q* discharged of his oath.

Which Tully pro-
veth by a generall
rule for all promi-
ses;
That the true mean-
ing, not the bare
words, is ever to be
respected therein.
A list precep.
this, That there be
ever kept a speciall
hatted of treachery.
This hee teacheth
by a notable exam-
ple of justice even
towards the enemy
and against such
dealing: That when
a runnagate from
Pyrrhus had pro-
mised the Senate
to poison him; the
q hee had forgot-
ten I knowe not
what. And then
being gone [again]
out of the campe,
hee thought him-
selfe * freed from
his oath; and [so]
hee was in words,
but indeed he was
not. For *q* it is
to hee considered
alwaies in promi-
ses, what a man
q meant, not what
hee said. But the
* greatest example
of justice towards
an enemy, *q* was
shewed by our an-
cestours. Whereas
* a runnagate trai-
tour from Pyrrhus
had promised the
Senate, *q* that hee
would give the
King poyson and
kill
q you ought to
thinke in fidelitie
[or giving your
faithfull word.]
q have meant, [or
ought to have
meant.]
* most notable ex-
ample.
q is constituted or
appointed.
* a traitor having
run away from
Pyrrhus.
q himselfe to give
poison to the King,
[or to poison the
King]

kill him, *q* the Se- Senate sent the
q He, or the Senate. nate and *Caius Fa-* traitor back to Pyr-
bricius delivered thus signifying his
 that runnagate trait- treacherie: There-
 tour to *Pyrrhus*: so by shewing their
 as it did not ap- hatred of such a
 prove * the trea- fact, though against
 cherous *q* death no an enemy both
 not of an enemy, mightie, & moving
 both mighty and war unprovoked.

* by treacherie or
 wickednesse.
q the death.

* of his owne ac-
 cord.

q it is spoken.

q warlike or warfa-
 ring or militarie
 Duties.

moving warre * un-
 provoked. And Thus farre he hath
 thus *q* have we spo- spoken of warlike
 ken sufficiently of Duties.

q Duties appertai-
 ning to warre.

q the lowest men,
 viz, the meanest.
q fortune.
q servants.

q hirelings or mer-
 cenarie.

Let us also re- Next, he speaketh
 member, that there of Iustice to bee
 is a justice to bee kept, even towards
 kept even towards the basest sort and
q the basest. And condition of people,
 the condition and which he maketh
q estate of *q* slaves to bee the slaves;
 is the basest: whom that we are as well
 they that com- bound to give them
 mand to vs so, their due for their
 as *q* hired servants labour, as to require
 their labour of
 them,

to

to *q* require [their] *q* exact.
labour, and *q* give *q* performe just
them their due, do things unto the
not *q* command a- *q* give precep-
misse. *q* Moreo- amisse.
ver, whereas injury *q* But.

Lastly, hee setteth
downe two man-
ners of doing inju-
rie: One by force,
which is most pro-
per to the lion;
A second by fraud,
the properie of the
fox: both of them
be unbefitting man;
but guile the worse
of the two.

* may be done two * is,
manner of waies,
that is to say,
either by * force, * violence.
or by * guile: guile * fraud.
seemeth to be * as * the property of
of the Fox, force the fox,
of the Lion; both
of them most *q* un- *q* alienated or
befitting man: estranged from
yet guile * [is] man.
worthy the grea- * deserveth.
ter hatred. But of
all injustice none is

And here he teach-
eth what is the most
hainous kind of all
injustice, viz. when
men intend the
most deceit, yet do
it under a pretence
of honesty, and to
the end that they
may seeme good
men.

q more capital, than *q* more worthy
of them, who then
when they de-
ceive most, yet doe
it to the end that
they may seeme
good men. *q* [So *q* Concerning In-
like- justice enough is said.

likewise.] enough
is said concerning
Iustice.

Chap. 16.

The Argument.

Of liberality the
second part of Iu-
stice, which yet
Aristotle seemeth
to *q* joine to Mo-
destie: wherein
q teacheth three
things to be looked
unto chiefly.

Tully q sheweth
that three things
[are] to be looked
to especially. The
first [is] that wee
give not any thing
which may bee
hurtfull to the re-
ceiver; nor that
wee take from
q some by wrong
that

that which we * would give.

* may give to o-

thers. The second

[is] that wee * ex- * use.

cise our liberality q for the measure

q according to our of our substance.

ability. The third

[is] that wee give

not to whom wee

ought not. But

we must give either

q to them who are q to [men] being

commended for commendable or

vertue, or to them praise-worthie.

who q are loving- q prosecute us in

ly affected to- honest good will.

wards us; or with

whom q wee have q some band of so-

some special band cietie doth come

of societie; or to betweene to us or

conclude, [to them] passe between us.

who [have] de-

served well of us;

to whome a kind-

nesse is to be q re- q measured backe.

payed even with

usurie: Last of all,

repea-

repeating the degrees of humane societie from the
 q chiefe fountaine q first originall; he
 or spring.

amongst themselves, that so much
 may be performed

q how much.

q as is due to every one.

* carefully.

But *Seneca* hath written most
 * diligently in many bookes concerning this part.

q Let it bespoken furthermore, as it was purposed, of bountie and liberality.
 q determined.

Let us now speake, as we had purposed, of bounty and liberality, than which certainly nothing is more

In this Chapter Tully discouisech of bounty or liberality;

1. Giving it this commendatio, that nothing is more becomming man.

* becomming or agreeable to.

* befitting the nature of man. q Notwithstanding, it is as;

2. He teacheth that three things are to be looked unto in

q exceptions.

hath diuers q cautions. For 1 First

1. That our boun-

[wee]

tie neither hurt [wee] must q take q see.
to whom we would heed q that our q lest our bountie.
seeme bountifull, bountie hurt not
nor others.

both q those to q those themselves
whom wee would to whom it shall
seeme to be boun- seeme to be done
tifull, and also o bountifully.

a. That our boun- thers : " Secondly, " afterwards,
tie bee not above. that our q bountie q liberalitie.
our abilitie. be not q more, q greater then our
then our abilitie : substance.

The third is, That q Thirdly, that we q Then.
wee give to everie give to every one,
one according to according to their
their dignitie : for dignitie. For that
this bee counteth is the foundation
the chiefe founda- of Iustice, where-
tion of justice, unto all these
whereunto all these things " are to bee " must be applied.

Concerning the referred. For both
first of these three; they that doe a
he teacheth us to pleasure to any
beware of it : first, one which may
because they, who hurt him, whom
pleasure others they would seeme
with that which q willing to profit, q to will or desire
may hurt them, are are not to be q pleasure
not to bee deemed med q judged.

- med bountious, bountifull, but per-
 nor liberall, but nicious flatterers.
 q pestilent. q pernicious flatter-
 q who. q that hurt q some, And secondly, be-
 q others. that they may be cause they who hurt
 q doe fall into. q are in the same some to be bounti-
 injustice, as if they full therewith to o-
 should turne other thers, run into the
 mens goods into same fault, as if they
 their owne. * And should take from
 indeed there are others to enrich
 many, q and name- themselves therby.
 ly [those who] are
 desirous of honour
 and glory, who
 * forceably take. * cate away from
 some, that which
 they * lauish to o-
 thers. These also
 suppose that they
 shall seeme boun-
 tifull towards
 q their friends, if
 they enrich them
 by * any meanes.
 q their owne.
 * any way.

Now hee sheweth
 that there are many
 of this later sort; as
 namely, all desirous
 of glorie: who sup-
 pose that they shall
 seeme bountifull to
 their friends, if
 they may enrich
 them by any means.

But,

But this he teacheth
to be so farre from
Duty, as that no-
thing can bee more
contrary unto it.

Whence he giveth
this generall direc-
tion for our libera-
litie to our friends.
That it bee such as
may do them good
without the hurt of
any man.

And so concludeth,
that the conveying
of goods by Sylla
and Cesar from the
just owners to o-
thers, ought not to
be thought liberali-
ty; because nothing
is liberall which is
not just.

Concerning the
second caution, viz.
That our bountie
bee not above our
abilitie, hee giveth
these reasons of it:

But that is so farre
off from Dutie,
that nothing can
to be more cōtrarie

Dutie. ¶ We must
therfore take heed,
that we use such
liberality, as may
profit our friends,
and hurt ¶ no man. ¶ no body.

Wherefore ¶ *L. Sil.* ¶ of *L. Sylla.*
¶ *las* and *C. Casars*

¶ conveying of ¶ translating.
¶ goods from the ¶ money.

just ¶ owners unto ¶ Lords or maisters.
¶ strangers, ought ¶ others.

not to be thought
¶ liberality. For ¶ liberall

nothing is liberall
¶ which is not just. ¶ which same.

¶ The second point ¶ the other place of
of caution was, ¶ caution was, or the
second caution.

that the ¶ bounty
¶ liberalitie.

should not bee
¶ more than our ¶ greater.
abilitie; for that
they that will bee

H more

q bountifull.

q substance.

* that.

q neighbours or
kinsmen, next any
way.

q for what riches it
were more equall,
&c.

q fremsfolks.

q to their kinsfolks.

q taking away.

q that store may
abound.

q give prodigally.

q we may also see.

q the most part.

q glory.

more q liberall, 1. Because such as
than their q abili- will give beyond
tie doth suffer, of- their abilitie, are in-
fend first in * this, jurious to their
that they are inju- next of kin: for that
rious q to their they convey those
next kin. q For riches to strangers,
they convey those which it were more
riches unto q stran- reason, should bee
gers, which it were dealt & left to their
more reason to be kinsfolks.

these. There is also 2. Because there is
for the most part commonly in such
in such liberalitie liberalitie a greedie
a greedy desire of desire of pulling
catching and q pul- from some injuri-
ling away by inju- ously, that they may
rie, q that they have to lavish to o-
thers.

may have store to
q lavish out to o-
thers. q Moreo-
ver, wee may see
q very many, not
so liberall by na-
ture, as led with
a certaine q vaine
glory,

3. Because this kind
of liberalitie spring-
eth rather fro vaine

glorie than good glory, that they
nature, onely to the may seeme boun-
end that they may tisfull: which things
seeme bountifull; tisfull: which things
and so rather from may seem to q pro- q come.
ostentation, than a ceed rather from
free heart. ostentation, than

from a q free heart. q good will.
And such a q coun- q dissembling, a
terfeit shew is nee- nearer neighbour.

So that he account-
teth such a counter-
feit shew, neerer to
vanitie, than either
to liberality or ho-
nestie.

The third q cau- q thing propoun-
tion s, that in [our] ded.

For the third cau-
tion, viz. That we
give to every one
according to their
dignity; hee d-
recteth, that heerein
we have a speciall
regard of the
worthinesse of each
towards whom we
use our bountie; and
therein to consider,
both his manners
and affection to-
wards vs, as also his
neighbourhood, so-
ciety friendship, &
kindnesse to us.

liberality there
should bee a q re- q choice.
gard of q worthi- q dignitie.
nesse: wherein
both his manners
upon whom the
benefit shall be be-
stowed q are to be q shall be looked
looked unto, and unto.
also his q affection q minde or good
towards, us, and will.
community and
fellowship of life,
H 2 and

q good turnes, or
services or duties,
q conferred.

q to our profit,
q a thing to be
wished.

q meet together,
that all which may
concur it is to be
wished.

and q kindneses
q performed be-
fore for our com-

modities : q All which he teach-
eth, that it were to
be wished that be wished they
might concur ; o-
therwise the moe of
them and greater
to have the more
the greater, shall weight and respect
with us in our libe-
ralitie.
[in them.]

Chap. 17.

q manners to be
looked unto.

q reason.

* patterne or re-
semblance.

q *Manners are
to bee considered,
not according to the
exact q considera-
tion of the wise
Stoicke, but the ci-
vill * image of ver-
tue.*

And

Tully declareth in this chapter, what is to be considered concerning mens manners spoken of and before, for the guiding of our liberality.

And because *q* we live not *q* it is lived, leade with perfect men, our life. ** throughly or absolutely wise.*

And first, that wee neglect no man, in whom there appeareth any shewe of vertue. *q* those. *q* it is done verie well. ** if they be.*

Hereof also hee giveth this reason; Because we live not with men who are perfect & absolutely wise; but with such as in whom, wee thinke it very well, if there be but resemblances of vertue. *q* thinke. *q* understood. *q* no man to be despised.

whom any *q* signe *q* signification, or of vertue doth appeare. *q* Also that *q* And everie one to be so honoured especially.

as each shall bee *q* more specially *q* chiefly adorned. graced with these milder vertues, graced with the milde vertues of modesty, temperance and iustice; and then giveth the reason hereof; *[viz.] * modestie, * moderation. that same justice of which * wee have spoken much before.*

H 3 ny

Tullies Offices

q a valiant minde
and great.
* spirit.

q not perfect nor
wise.

* viz. modestie,
temperance and
justice.
q touch.

ny things are spoken
alreadie. For Because haury cou-
rages and hot spi-
rits are not usually
in the wisest men;
but contrarily those
milder vertues, viz.
of Temperance &
Iustice, seem com-
monly to follow a
good man.
q a haury & a great
courage is for the
most part more
fervent, in a man
who is too short
in perfection and
wisdome: [but]
these * vertues
seeme rather to
appertaine to a
good man. And
these things [may
be considered] in
manners.

Chap. 18.

* how we are to
consider.

* esteemed.

* How the good
will of others to-
wards us, is to bee
* considered.

q Now

Here Tully teacheth how we are to consider of mens affections towards us. **N**ow concerning the good will which every one * hath * beareth. And. And first, that this is to bee looked upon to principallie; that we give most to him of whom wee give most to him, are most beloved, of whom wee are beloved most. But 2. That we measure mens affections towards us, not by a certaine heat of love for a fir, as of young men, by young men are wont to doe; but a certaine *q* heat *q* fervency. by the stability and of love; but rather constancie. by * stabilitie and * assurednesse and steadfastnesse.

Chap. 19.

*How kindnesse is to bee requited to thē who have *q* well *q* if there shall be deserved of us. deserts.*

But

BUT if the de-
 serts [of men] be such, that *q* we
 are not to seeke to
 creepe into favour,
 but to requite
 kindnesse; a cer-
 taine greater care
 is to be *q* used,
 * because there is
 no Dutie more ne-
 cessarie than re-
 quiting of * thanks.
 For if *Hesiod* com-
 mandes to restore
 those things which
 you have *q* bor-
 rowed for your
 use, with a *q* larger
 measure, if that
 you can; what then
 ought wee to doe
 being provoked
 by a *q* kindnesse?
 Ought wee not to
 imitate the * fertile
 fields;

Tullie in this
 chapter giveth di-
 rections for requi-
 ting of mens kind-
 nesses to us; & first
 teacheth that wee
 ought to have a
 speciall care here-
 of. Because there is
 no Duty more ne-
 cessarie than it.
 2. That wee ought
 to repay such kind-
 nesses with a greater
 measure than
 we received them.
 This hee proveth
 first, by the testimo-
 nie of *Hesiod*,
 commanding to re-
 store things bor-
 rowed for our use,
 with fuller measure,
 if we can; and ther-
 fore much more
 such good turnes, as
 have been done us
 frankly, and where-
 by we have bin pro-
 voked; heerein i-
 mitating the fertile
 fields.

q for. is not to
 be gone into or to
 be sought, but to be
 required.

q added.
 * for.

* * thankfulnesse.

q received to use
 or occupy.

q greater.

q benefice.

* fruitfull.

fields; which bring
much more than
they have recei-

Secondly, he shew-
eth it by another *q* stick not to be- *q* doubt not.
reason from the les
thus; That if wee
sticke not to be-
stowe kindnesse
upon them, whom
wee hope will *q*do *q* profit us.
stowe benefits on
then, who (wee
us good hereafter;
hope) will doe us
q what manner of *q* what ones.
good hereafter,
much more ought
men ought wee to
we on them, who
be towards them,
have done us good
who have done us
alreadie. good alreadie?

3. Whereas there
are two kindes of
liberalitie, one of
bestowing a bene-
fit, the other of re-
quiting; hee teach-
eth that howsoever
it is in a mans owne
power whether hee
will freely give a
benefit or no; that
yet it is not in any
case lawfull for a
good man, not to
For whereas there
bee two kindes
of liberality, one
of *q* bestowing *q* giving.
a benefit, the o-
ther of requiting,
q it is in our owne *q* whether we will
power whether give or no is in our
wee will give or owne power,
no: [but] *q* it choice.
is not lawfull *q* not to restore is
not lawfull for a
for a good man good man.
not to restore,
if

Tullies Offices

q choices.

q to each greatest,
or who hath done
us the greatest
kindnesse.

* considered.

q every one.
* doth it.

* of or through.

q rashnesse.

q judgement, rea-
son.

q stirred up by force
of minde.

* rushing.

* kindnesse

if so that he can do require a kindnesse,
it without injurie. if he can do it with-
out injurie to any.

There are also gre-
spects to be had of
benefits received:
neither [is there
any] doubt, but

most is due q to e-
verie the greatest.

Wherein yet it is
especially to bee

* weighed, with
what minde, affec-
tion, and good will

q any man * hath
done it. For many

men doe many
things * in a cer-
taine q headinesse,

without q discreti-
on or measure, to-
wards all [alike:] or

else being q carri-
ed with violence of
affection, as with a

certain * sudden
winde: which * be-

nefits

3. For kindnesse
received, that wee
have special regard:
because howsoever
wee owe most to
him of whom wee
have received most;
yet we are to weigh
with what mind
and affection any
one hath benefited
us. Because many
men do such things
upon a certain hea-
dinesse without dis-
cretion, & towards
all alike, or carried
with some violence
of affection: which
benefits he teacheth

Las
the
cipa
that
thing
swen
him
stads
thous
mon
contr
to th
whom
for m
they h

not to bee so great, ne fits are not to be
as those which are accounted so great,
bestowed with as those which are
judgement, advice and constancy. *q* offered with *q* deferred or given.
q judgement, *q* advice *q* considerately.

sedly & constant-
ly. But in *bestow- * gratifying any.

ing of a benefit,
and in requiting
kindnesse, (if [all]
other things bee

q correspondent) *q* alike.

Lastly, that in all these, this is a princi- *q* this is chiefly of
cipall part of Duty; pall point of Duty; Duty.

that (all other things being an- standeth *q* most in *q* everie one.
swerable) we helpe need of [our] *q* especially.

him most that * help, so to helpe * aide.
stands in most need: him especially.

though men commonly deale cleane Which is done *q* of *q* by the most.
contrarily; giving verie many * cleane * contrariwise.
to them most, of contrary.

whom they looke For *q* of whom *q* from whom.
they have no need. they hope for
most, although he
have no neede *q* of *q* of these things.
them, yet they
* serve

* respect him.
* chiefly.

* serve him * especially.

Chap. 20.

*What order [is to
bee observed] in the
q loyning together q neighbourhood of
or familiaritie. life: and first concer-
ning the universall
societie of all mor-
tal men.*

q fellowship, love.

q preserved best.
q each, or any one.

q most liberalitie
shall be bestowed
on him.
* kindnesse.

q to repeate more
deepely.

BUT the q soci- Here Tully setteth
tie, and neigh- downe certaine
bourhood of men things concerning
shal beq best main- the neighbourhood
tained, if as q every and society of men,
one shall bee the and how it may bee
neerest [unto us] best maintained.
so q we shall bestow And first, giveth
most * liberalitie this generall pre-
upon him. But it cept; that as everie
seemeth wee must one is nearest unto
us, so wee bestowe
most on him.

q fetch somewhat
further,

Secondly, noteth further, what are the degrees of the *q* naturall prin- *q* beginnings of neighbourhood & ciples of neigh- first things or societic in nature, bourhood & *q* hu- principles of nature.

And therein the first *q* the first is that, of man. which * is seene in *q* the first [principle.] the societic of all * appeareth. mankinde. And the bond thereof is reason & speech: which *q* reconcil- *q* winneth one man to another.

Be cause these joyne men together in a *q* communicating. *q* conferring, *q* reasoning, and judg- *q* disputing. ing. Neither *q* do *q* are we further away in any thing. wee differ more in any thing from the nature of * wilde * savage. beasts: in which wee say oft times *q* that there is for- *q* strength to be in. may have hard- tirude

- ritude, as in horses, [and] in lions; but wee doe not say *q* that there is in them] justice, equitie [or goodnesse:] for they are void of reason and speech. And surely this is the *q* fellowship which *q* extendeth most largely to men amongst themselves, & to all * amongst all: in the which a community of all things, which Nature hath * bred to the common use of men, is to be kept so, as those things which are *q* appoynted by Statutes and the Civill law, bee so * holden as it is ordeined:
- nesse as in Lions, horses, &c and other such like qualities: yet can they not have justice or goodnesse, because they want reason & speech.
- q* justice, equity, or goodnesse to be in them.
- q* societie.
- q* this is the largest spreading fellowship.
- * amongst themselves.
- * given or afforded.
- q* described.
- * kept.
- Thirdly, he sheweth that this societie extendeth it self most largely to all men amongst themselves, and that to this end, a community of all things which nature hath made to the common use, be kept according as they are appointed by Statutes and the Civill law.

deined : *q* besides *q* of which same
which [all] other things.

And for all other things, that they be observed, as it is in the Greeke proverb ; That all things be common *q* to bee common *q* to owe to be, among friends.

Fourthly, he noteth *q* Likewise all those *q* And, more particularly, things doe seeme what Duties ought to bee common to be performed to al, *q* to all men, which *q* of men, besides those appointed by Lawes ; are of the same kinde: which being put [for example] *viz.* what good soever we may doe to others, without by *Ennius* in one thing, may bee *q* transferred unto *q* applied, and that wee are to performe the same many ; [thus.]

even to them whom wee knowe A man who courteously sheweth not ; according to the way to one out of his way,

To shew the way Doth, as if hee curteously to one should light *q* can- *q* light, going out of his dle *q* at his candle ; *q* of his light.

way. To light another mans light is *q* That neverthe-
ours. So, not to for- lesse

lesse it may light
himselfe, when he
hath *q* lighted the
q kindled it to him.
other.

* that one precept
is sufficient. For * there is suf-
ficient commaun-

ded by one thing,
that whatsoever
can bee lent with-
out * hindrance

* losse or hurt.
q it. *q* be granted to e-

q even unknowne. very one, *q* yea
though unknowe.

q those things are
common. Whereupon *q* are
those common say-

ings; Not to for-
bid [*any] the

* the running water
to any. running water: to

suffer [any that
will] to take fire

from [our] fire ;
to give faithfull

q to one delibera-
ung. counsell *q* to him

that asketh advice: yeeld
which things are

profitable to those
who receive [them]
[and]

So, not to forbid
any the running
water. To suffer
any one to take fire
from our fire. To
give faithfull coun-
sell to each asking
our advice.

And generally to
yeeld whatsoever
things are profita-
ble to the receiver
not hurtfull to the
giver.

Whence he concludeth, that as we are to use these things, our selves; so ever to have respect to the common good of all: [and] not *q* hurt-*q* troublesome or full to the giver. *q* burdensome.

Wherefore wee must both use those things, and * alwayes bring * doe something to somewhat to the further the common commo-

mon commoditie. Yet here he giveth another caution. But because the *q* substance *q* of *q* riches. That because the each private man *q* of everie one by substance of each is small, and the himselfe. private man is multitude of them in all, and the multitude of them who need *q* it is *q* these riches. stand in need is infinite, common infinite; that every liberalitie must be one so order hisliberality that first referred to that he looke to himselfe and his, and so end* of *Ennius*, that * which *Ennius* nevertheless it speaketh of. *q* light himselfe; *q* may shine to him. That we may have selfe. ability, wherewith we may be liberall to our owne.

Chap. 21.

There bee also
 moe degrees
 of society of men.
 * For that we may
 depart from that
 infinitenesse, there
 is a neerer [de-
 gree] ; To bee of
 the same *q* stocke,
 nation, [and] *q* lan-
 guage, *q* whereby
 men are *q* especi-
 ally knit together.

* for to leave that
 endless number.

q countrie or
 people.
q tongue.
q by which.
q chiefly.

q inward.
 * one.

q for there are ma-
 ny things common
 to citizens among
 themselves.

q place where the
 court is kept, or the
 market.

q temples.

q porches or gal-
 leries.

q waies.

q rights.

It is also more
q neere, to bee of
 the same Citie.

q For citizens have
 many things com-
 mon amongst
 themselves ; the
q Common Hall,
q Churches, *q* Gal-
 lerie walks, *q* High-
 waies, Lawes, *q* Pri-
 vileges

Chap. 21.

In this chapter
 hee setteth downe
 sundrie degrees of
 the societie of men.
 And first, how after
 the generall society
 with all, these are
 neerer degrees ;
 1. To bee of the
 same stocke, nation
 & language, where-
 by men are more
 specially knit toge-
 ther.

2. To bee of the
 same citie, is a neer-
 er degree. These
 also have many
 things common a-
 mong themselves,
 as common-halls,
 churches, walks,
 high-waies, lawes,
 privileges, judge.

ments voyces in election, customes, dealings, and the like, to joyne them together.

privileges, Judgements, Voices in election, Customes *q* likewise and Familiarities, also many matters and *q* Bargaines with

3. A neerer degree is of kinsfolkes, to be of the same kin, wherein the society of men is brought into a narrow compasse.

And heere he teacheth, what is the verie first and highest societie; and so how that ascendeth and spreadeth.

many. But *q* a faster knitting [of men] together, is of the fellowship of kinsfolkes. *q* reasons [covenants or dealings] contracted. *q* sundry. *q* a straighter binding together or neerer.

For from that * infinite or innumerable. *q* it is shut up into verie little and straight [place.] little and narrow compasse. For

q whereas this is common *q* to all *q* such. *q* of all living living creatures creatures.

That whereas there is in all living creatures a naturall desire of procreation, so also in mā: whence the first societie is in wedlocke, the second in children, a

by nature, that they have *q* a desire of *q* a lust of procreation; breeding or first societie is *q* in ingendring. *q* in wedlocke it the very wedlock, *q* in wedlocke it selfe.

the next in children

1 a dren

¶ and then.

¶ to which.

¶ that.

¶ beginning.

¶ seminarie.

¶ conjunctions or societies of brethren do follow.

¶ *q* *cosin* germanes, viz. brethren and sisters children.

¶ taken or holden.

¶ new townes.

¶ marriages.

¶ affinities.

¶ *q* *moe*.

¶ spring.

¶ multiplication.

dren, ¶ and after third in one house, that one house, wherto most things are common. ¶ where to all things are cōmon.

And ¶ this is the ¶ This he sheweth to be the originall of a citie, & as it were the seed-plot of a common weale.

[Then] A fourth societie he follow the ¶ kin- noteth to be of co- zins germanes, viz. reds of brethren ; of brethren and sisters children ; which after, of ¶ brothers sisters childre : which children and sisters when they so increase that they cannot be contained when they cannot in one house, now bee ¶ contay- doe get them ned in one house, abroad into other get them abroad houses as into co- into other houses, lonies, or newe as into ¶ Colonies. townes.

[Afterwards] doe follow ¶ enterma- After do follow en- termarriages, Whence ariseth a ¶ alliances of kinf- ¶ many kinsfolke alliances of kinf- [do * arise.] Which folkes by marriage, of which many kin ¶ propagation and do spring. ¶ suc-

And this propagation hee noteth to be the originall of common weales.

Also, that this conjunction of bloud and good will knitteth men in love together.

And so the *con-
junction of bloud
& good will [there-
upon] * knitteth
men in love toge-

* fellowship or
matching of
blouds.
bindeth.

And that so much the more, because they have the same monuments of their ancestours, religion, burying places, &c. which hee noteth to bee a great matter to knit the hearts of me in one.

But of all other societies he teaches that the excellentest and most firme, is of friends; viz, when good men like in conditions, are linked together in familiarity.

ther. For it is a great matter to have the same monuments of our ancestours, to use the same religion, to have the same burying places. But of all so-

cieties there is none *q* better, none *q* more excellent, more * firme, than * sure or stable.

when good men like in *q* conditions, are *q* linked together in familiarity.

For that honestie, (which wee have oft times

I 3 *q* men-

q spoken of.

* allureth us.

* to be friendly.

q be in, or to dwell.

* every vertue, or
all kinde of vertues.

* her.

q maketh that we
love them.

q to be in, viz.
dwell or harbour.

q affecteth it.

q especially.

* And indeed.

q more amiable.

q more coupling
together.

q similitude of good
manners.

q like studies.

q wills.

q mentioned) al-
though wee see it
in another, yet it

* moveth us; and
maketh us * friends
to him, in whom

it seemeth to q be.

And although * all

vergue allureth us

to * it selfe, and

q causeth us to love

them in whom it

seemeth q to be; yet

Iustice and Libera-

lity q worketh that

q most of all. * But,

there is nothing

q that winneth

more love, nor

q that linketh men

more surely toge-

ther, than q a like-

nesse of good con-

ditions. For in

whome there are

q the same desires,

the same q mindes,

q it

The reason hereof
is, first, because the
vertues which wee
see or imagine in o-
thers, do most firm-
ly binde us unto
them, & especially
Iustice & Liberalitie.

And secondly, for
the likeness of con-
ditions in righte
friends; then which
he sheweth that no-
thing winneth
more true love, nor
linketh men more
firmely: For that
in whom there are
the same desires &
mindes, either of

them is as much *q* it commeth to *q* it is done in these.
 delighted with the passe amongst
 other as with him- these, *q* that either *q* that each is de-
 selfe; & thence ar- is as much de- lighted equally
 seth that which Py- lighted with the with, &c.
 thagoras requires
 in friendship; That other as with him-
 many become one. selfe: and that *q* is *q* is effected or

brought to passe, commeth to passe.
 which *Pythagoras*
q requires in friend- *q* willeth.
 ship, that *q* many *q* one be made of
 become one. Al- many.

Further more, he
 teacheth here, that
 the fellowship
 which groweth of
 kindenesse given
 and taken to and
 fro, is verie great;
 because these being
 mutuall and plea-
 suring one another,
 must needs links
 men in a firme
 league.

so that *q* common *q* communite of
 fellowship is great, fellowship, or so-
 which *q* groweth of cieties.
q kindnesse given *q* is made of.
 and *q* received to *q* benefits or good
 and fro. *q* Which *q* turnes.
 whilst they are *q* taken.
 * mutuall and plea- * which kindnesse,
 suring, they a- * common from
 mongst whom one to another
q those happen, *q* those [kindnesse]
 are *q* linked in a are.
 firme societie. *q* tied in fast fellow-
 ship.

Sixtly, he teacheth, But when you
 that yet all things have *q* considered *q* viewed or perused.
 all

q reason & minde.

q there is none of
all societies.

q which is to every
one of us.

q [Our] parents
[are] deare, [our]
children [are] deare.
[our] kinsfolkes
& familiar [friends]
[are] deare.

q can or would.

q to offer himselfe
to death willingly,
or to die.

q profit the same.

q By which [or by
how much.]

q more detestable.

all things, in q dis-
course and reason;

q of all societies
there is none more

acceptable, none
more deare, than

that q which every
one of us hath with

the Cōmon-weale.

q Deare are our pa-
rents, deare are

our children, [our]
kinsfolkes, and fa-

miliars : but our
Countrey alone

contaynes [in it
selfe] all the loves

of all [these.] For
which, what good

man q could doubt
q to take his death,

if he may q doe it
good? q Where-

by the beastly cru-
eltie of these men

in q more to be ab-
horred, who have

q rent

being rightly con-
sidered, the most
acceptable & deare
societie of all o-
thers, is that which
everie one hath
with the common
wealth.

This hee proveih
by an argument
from the lesse, thus;
That howsoever
our parents are dear
unto us, and so our
kinsfolkes & fami-
liars, yet our coun-
trie alone containes
in it selfe the loves
of all these, and
therefore ought to
be dearer to us than
all these. So that no
good man should
doubt to lay down
his life for it, if hee
may doe it good.

Whence he noteth
that the beastly
crueltie of such men
who seeke the utter

overthrowe of their countries, or the rending the same in peeces by any mischief, ought to be abhorred of all.

Lastly, hee declareth, that if yet

comparison and question be made, to which of these societies most duty ought to be yeelded, That,

1. Our countrye & parents are to be preferred, because wee are specially bound with their benefits.

2. That our children and whole familie are next, because they depend upon us alone.

3. Our kinsfolk carrying themselves

q rent in sunder q torne in peeces, their Countrey rend their country in sunder.

with q all manner of mischief, and q all horrible wickednesse.

both are and have

beene occupied

q in the utter overthrow thereof.

But if q question and comparison be made, to whom

q most dutie ought to be yeelded ;

our Countrey and parents are q the

chiefe, q by whose benefits we are es-

pecially bound :

Al Our children [are] next, and our

whole familie ; which q hangeth

upon us alone, nei-

ther can have any other refuge.

q Afterwards our kinsfolkes agree-

q in blotting it out [or destroying it] utterly.

See heere the ponder traitors and all of that bloody faction.

q any contention and comparison be made.

q most or duty ought to be given,

q principall

q by the benefits of whom we are bound chiefly.

At next our children and our whole

house, q looketh to us and can have no other

refuge.

q And then,

q

q with whom for *q* who also com- ing well [with us] well and lovingly
most part a com- monly have the toward us.
mon fortune.

fore the necessarie

* comforts.

* ayds of life, are And to these prin-
due to those espe- cipally he teacheth,
cially whom I that the necessarie
spake of before :

q life and common-
nesse of table.

but *q* conversation ayds of life apper-
and common li- taine; but that fa-
ving, counsels, miliar conversati-
counsels, on, counsels, spea-
speeches, exhor- ches, exhortations;
tations, * consola- consolations and
tions, and *q* other- otherwise chidings,
whiles chidings, are most usuall a-
mongst friends,

* communications
* comfortings.

q sometimes.

q are most usuall
amongst friends.

q do flourish espe-
cially.

q that is the most
pleasant friendship.

And *q* that friend-
ship is the pleasan-
test, which *q* like-
nesse of conditions
hath *q* linked in
one.

And in a word, that
of all friendships
that is the plea-
santest which is lin-
ked by likenesse of
conditions.

q the similitude of
manners.

q yoked together.

Chap.

Chap. 22.

The Argument.

q The Duties of
Liberality ought to
be considered, not
only q by these de-
grees of societie, but
also by other cir-
cumstances.

q It behooveth the
 Duties of liberalitie
 to be looked unto
 not onely, &c.
q from.

Tully in this
 chapter setteth
 downe some other
 Duties, concerning
 our bounty and li-
 berality; as,

1. that in perfor-
 ming Duties to each
 societie mentioned,
 we must still consi-
 der, what is most
 necessarie for every
 man; and then what
 each is able to at-
 taine of himselfe, &
 what hee cannot
 without our helpe:
 & that the degrees
 of friendship and
 of times are not al-
 waies alike.

BUT in *q* do-
 ing all these
 Duties, *q* we must
 mark what is most

q distributing or
 performing all
 these.
q it is to be seen.

* necessarie for e-
 verie man, and
 what every one *q* is
 either able or una-
 ble to attaine with
 us or without us.

* needfull.
q can attaine or
 cannot.

Therefore the de-
 grees of friendship
 * shall not bee the
 same,

* must not be alike
 to the degrees of
 times.

Tullies Offices

same, which [are]
of times.

Al And there are
Duties.

q due rather.

q getting.

q controversie in
judgement.

q warily looked un-
to.

q exercise.
q is to be taken.

2 *Al* There are certain Duties which are *q* more due to some than to others: as, you shall sooner helpe your neighbour in *q* inning [his] corn, than either your brother, or your familiar friend. But if there bee a *q* traverse in law, you shall rather defend your kinsman and friend than your neighbour.

1. That there are certain Duties more due to some further from us in degree than others neerer. As that we are sooner to helpe our neighbour in inning his corne than our brother, or familiar friend, but in a traverse of law a man is rather to defend his kinsman or friend than his neighbour.

These things therefore, and the like are to be *q* thoroughly considered in every Dutie; also custome and *q* practice *q* are to be

3. That as wee are thorowly to consider these things in everie Duty, so also to put them in ure: that by long custome and practice

we may become expert to know what is due to every man, be used, that wee may bee * good * able to give up a good account. *q* makers of ac- *q* good account. *q* reckners.

count of Duties : *q* to see by adding and deducting *q* what summe remaineth of the summe of the rest or remainder.

rest. Whereupon *q* wee may understand how much is due to every one. *q* you may understand, viz a man may understand.

But, as neither

This hee maketh plaine by a similitude taken from Physicians, nor Captaines, nor Oratours, although they have gotten the rules of their art, yet cannot attaine ought worthy any great commendation, without use and practice. *q* gotten *q* perceived [or attained] the precepts. *q* any thing worthy great *q* commendation, without use and *q* practice : so *q* exercise. indeed those rules of * keeping Duty * observing. *q* are *q* taught us, *q* set downe or decreed.

And also that all the rules of Duty are taught us that wee

q should

q may do them.
q but,
q greatnesse or
difficulty.

q And we haue said
almost enough.

q ariseth or cometh.
q drawe or fetched.

q right of mans fel-
lowship.

q should put them may practice them
in ure. q For the and for that the
q hardnesse of the hardnesse of the
matter requireth matter requireth
also use and exer- use and exercise.

cise. q And thus And thus conclu-
have we spoken al- ded this point,
most sufficiently, how honestie is de-
how honestie from rived from those
which [all] Dutie things which are in
q springeth, is q de- the lawe of humane
rived from those societic.

things, which are
in the law of q hu-
mane societic.

Chap. 23.

The Argument.

The third foun-
taine of Dutie [is]
q valiantnesse of courage, noblenes of q Magnanimitie:
of stomacke or for- which q is bred of
titude. a contempt of hu-
q doth come from. mane

mane things, and
 a certaine *q* noble- *q* amplitude or
 nesse of minde : greatnesse.
 and it is declared
 especially in *q* dan- *q* going to [or at-
 gerous attempts, tempting] perils.
 and *q* archieving *q* going about.
 difficult matters.
q This hath at the *q* There is to this
 right hand *q* auda- at the right [hand]
 ciousnesse, *q* obsti- *q* foolish hardnesse
 nacie, *q* outragious or overventrous
 fiercenesse, *q* arro- bouldnesse.
 gancie, cruelty, *q* stubbornnesse.
q rash confidence, *q* proud presump-
q weiwardnesse, *q* confidence [or
 ger, *q* rigour, *q* am- presumption.]
 bition ; at the left *q* frowardnesse.
 hand *q* fearfulness, *q* cruelty or tyranny.
q cowardlinesse, *q* an immoderate
q stupiditie, and *q* desire of honour,
 [other] vices of *q* timorousnesse.
q the same kinde. *q* slothfulnessse.
q that. *q* blockishnesse.
 Also Magnanimity
 is * exercised part- * practised.
 ly in * warlike mat- * martiall business
 ters, but more in or matters of warre
 civill or chivalrie:

Tullies Offices

civill affaires, and
to conclude in the
private life, con-
cerning all which
q Tully q discour-
seth diversly.

q Cicero.
q disputeth.

BUt we must Heere Tully ente-
understand, reth to speak of for-
whereas four kinds titude, shewing it
[of vertue] are pro- self in a brave mind,
pounded, from despising these ex-
which Honestie & ternall things; rea-
Durie should ching that it see-
q proceed; *q* that meth the most glo-
seemes to shine rious of all the
most brightly, foure cardinall ver-
which is *q* wrought tues.

q see.
q that to seem most
bright, or most glo-
rious.
q done.

q haughty courage.
q humane things.

q especially in rea-
dinette.
q reproachfull
speeches.

q lostie spirit, de- This bee proverh
spising *q* worldly first by the usuall
vanities. Therefore reproches & taunts
[that] is *q* cominon- which are cast upon
ly ready in *q* re- men for their lacke
proach if any such of courage.

For in truth yee As the speech of
young

the Generall in En- young men q carry q doe beare.
 rius' taunting the q womanish hearts. q womanlike
 towardlinesse of And that q vir- mindes.
 the souldiers; gin [the heart] of maid.
 That they bate bot a man.
 womanish hearts, And if there bee
 and that a maid any thing like to
 by her valour put this.
 them all to shame.

And againe: That O *Salmatis* *give *thou givest.
 the Salmatian spoyles without
 spoiles were with- blond or sweate.
 out sweate or bloud. And contrarily
 Secondly, by the in praises, I know
 contrary praises, & not how, we praise
 the exceeding com- those things, as
 mendations of such with a more
 exploits as are done full mouth, which
 valourously and with are done with a
 a noble spirit. *great courage, *noble
 This he further il- q valiantly and ex- q both
 lustrateth. celly. Hence
 is the [large] *field *discourse.

1. By the ample
 praises of the Rhe-
 toricians both of
 his owne and for-
 mer times, concer-
 ning sundry valo-
 rous persons, their
 K and

q the Scipioes.

* hath the commendation to excell.

* valorousnesse or noblenesse.
q warlike.

* their images of honour set up or statues.

q in military attire,
or the attire of souldiers.

and [concerning] noble acts, and places where ; especially of the people of Rome, whose chiefe fame was for their valour.

& P. q Scipio, hereby M. Marcellus

& innumerable others, & especially

the very people of Rome*excelleth in

* greatnes or courage. And [their]

desire of q Martiall glory is declared,

for that wee see even [* their]

pictures for most part q in warlike

aray.

And lastly, for that whom the people of Rome would chiefly honor, they erected them pictures in honour of them, for most part in warlike attire.

Chap.

Chap. 24.

q Fortitude if it *q valour or man-*
departe from bone- *hood.*
stie, q loseth q the *q to lose.*
name. *q the name of fort-*
titude.

Tullie in this **B** Ut that los-
 chapter teacheth, **trinesse** of
 how to discern of *q spirit which is* *q mind or courage.*
 true fortitude. *q seere in perils and*
 And first, that *in q travels, if it* *q labours.*
 bouldnesse in *q be void of justice* *q want of justice.*
 daungers, if it be *and fight not for*
 either void of ju- *the common safe-* ** good.*
 stice; or fight for a *tie, but for q pri-* *q the owne com-*
 mans private com- *modities [or a*
 moditie & not for *vate commoditie,* *mans private gain.]*
 the common good, ** is faultie.* *For * is in fault [or is to*
 is not true fort- *that is not onely* *be reckoned faulty]*
 titude: because it is *q no proprietie of* *q not the proprietie*
 no proprietie of ver- *vertue, but rather* *of vertue.*
 tue, but rather of *of q brutishnesse,* *q fiercenesse.*
 brutishnesse, setting *q setting all huma-* *q repelling all hu-*
 aside all humanitie. *nitie apart.* *manitie.*

Secondly, he commendeth that defini- **2** Therefore *q* for- *q valour therefore.*
 tion that defini- *titude is well defi-*

K 2 ned

ned of the Stoicks, when they say, *q* that is a vertue
q it to be a vertue. ** contending.* ** fighting for * e-*
** in defence of e-* quity. Wherefore And thereupon in-
 quitie. no man that hath ferreth first, that no
 attained the glory man ever attained
 of fortitude, [ever] the praise of true
 got [that] praise, chetie or naughtie
q wilie traines and by *q* treacherie, & dealing : for that
 naughtie dealing. naughtie deceit : nothing can be ho-
 for nothing can be nest which is not
 honest which is just.
 void of justice. *q* Therefore that Secondly, com-
q That therefore of *q* Therefor that mendeth a worthy
 Plato is worthy is a worthie saying saying of Platoes to
 of *Plato*: Not only this end;
 (quoth he) [that]
 knowledge which
q removed, is *q* severed from
 justice is rather to
q craftinesse. be called *q* subtil-
 ty than wisdom; That as knowledge
q prepared. but also a courage severed from justice
q intorced or thrust which is *q* forward is rather called sub-
 forward. to danger, if it be telic than wisdom;
q by the own cove- *q* let on *q* for ones so a courage, though
 toulinesse or desire forward to perils,
 of gaine. owne

yet if it be set on for owne greedinesse,
 greedinesse of gain and not for the
 or other private re- common *q* good, *q* profit.
 spects, and not for the common good, may rather have
 the common good, ought rather to be name of *q* audaci- *q* rash or lewd
 tearmed audaciou- ousnesse than of hardinesse.
 nesse than valour. *q* fortitude. And *q* manhood.
 And thirdly there- therefore we
 on exhorteth all who would be tru- would have *q* men *q* valiant and noble
 ly valorous, to be who are valorous minded men.
 good men and of and puissant, to be
 plaine hearts, lo- good and *q* plaine *q* simple.
 vers of truth, and hearted, *q* lovers *q* friends.
 free from all de- of truth, and no-
 ceipt; because these thing at all deceit-
 vertues rightly de- full; which are *q* of
 serve the praise of the midst of all the *q* of the middle
 justice. praise of iustice.
 praises of justice.

In the third place, 3 But that is o-
 he reproves ano- dious, that in *q* such *q* this.
 ther odious fault hautesse and
 which attends upon greatnesse of cou-
 too great hautes- rage, there grow-
 nesse of minde. that eth * most easily * very soone.
 commonly such *q* a wilfulnesse, and *q* obstinacie.
 men become hea- over-great de-
 die, and are over- fire of bearing
 desirous of ruling. K 3 rule.

q as it is in Plato.

rule. For q as This hee proveth
Plato writeth, that by the testimonie
the generall fashi- of Plato, shewing
on 'of the Lacede- this to be the gene-
monians, was to be rall fashion of the
inflamed with a Lacedemonians, to
desire of conquere- be inflamed with a
ring: even so every desire of conquere-
one as hee doth ring: & that hence;
most excell in because as any one
greatnesse of cou- more excelieth in
rage, so hee speci- courage, so he more
ally desireth to bee desireth to be chief
of all and without
peere.

q Prince.
q to be alone.

q you shall earnest-
ly desire
q to excell all.

* belongeth pro-
perly.

* abide that they
should be over-
come or bridled.

q a man coveteth
q to be above all,
it is a difficult
thing to keep equi-
tie, which *s most
proper to justice.
Wherupon it com-
meth to passe, that
they cannot * en-
dure themselves to
be overcome, nei-
ther

And then declareth
other mischiefs fol-
lowing in them
hercupon: as first,
injustice, because it
is hard for such to
keep equitie.
2. Pride, so as they
cannot endure to
yeeld to others ei-

ther in reasoning
or any right triall
of lawe.

ther by reasoning

nor *q* by any com- *q* by any publike &
mon and right or- lawfull right.

der of lawe. And

3 Bribing or cor-
rupting others by
gitts and making
factious, whereby
they may attain the
greatest wealth and
become rather su-
perious by wealth,
than equall by ju-
stice.

they become for

the most part *q* bri- *q* givers of great
bers & *q* factious, gifts.

that they may at- *b* makers of facti-
taine the greatest ons.

wealth, and be ra-

ther superious by

power, than equall

by justice. *q* But

q but by how much

But yet he teacheth
that the harder it is
for such valorous
minde to bee just,
the more excellent
it is in them who
attaine it.

the harder it is [to

that is more diffi-
cult, by so much [it
is] more famous.

master this affecti-

on] the worthier

it is. For there is

no * time that * season.

ought to be with- *q* to want.

out justice. They

Lastly, he conclu-
deth heereupon
that they onely are
to be accounted
valorous, not who
do wrong to any;
but they who save
others from wrong
And that true va

therefore are to be

accounted valo-

rous & of a wor-

thie courage, *q* not

q not who doe,

who doe wro *g*, but who drive

away injurie.

but withstand it.

But a true and wise

valour

q to be put.

q him selfe to be
chiefe.

q who so.

q error.
q vnskillull multi-
tude.

q he is not.
q in great men.

q inforced or eg-
ged on.

q drings.
q which is indeed
a very slippery
place.

valour of minde iudgeth that
iudgeth that hone- excellencie, which
fly which nature nature simeth at
chiefly followeth, chiefly, to consist
in deeds and not in
q to consist in deeds glory.

and not in glory; Also that all who
q and had rather are truly valorous
q bee the chiefe, had rather bee the
than to seeme so. chiefe in deed than
to seeme so. Because
For q hee that de- hee who dependeth
pendeth upon the on the cironious
q erroneous conceit concept of the
of the rude multi- rude multitude, is
tude, q is not to not to be reckoned
be accounted q in in the number of
the number of va- valiant men.

liant men. But as And besides, be-
every man is of cause the bravest
courage most high mindes and most
and desirous of desirous of glorie
glorie, [so] is hee are the easihest over
most easily q driven actions.

on to unjust q mat- And finally, that
ters. q Which place therefore valorous
is indeed slipperie, minde to stand in
because there is a very tickle & slip-
scarce any man pery place; because
found

it is hard to finde a found, who *q* when *q* labours being undertaken and perils
 man, who having he hath sustained dertaken and perils
 atchived great ex- he hath sustained gone into or archi-
 ploirs & dangerous travells, and ad- ved.
 adventures, de- ventured dangers,
 fireth not glory as doth not desire
 a reward of his la- glorie as a reward
 bours. of his labours.

Chap. 25.

True *q* valour of *q* magnanimity.
 mind doth consist in
 two things chiefly:
 in contemning both
q prosperitie and ad- *q* prosperous and
 versitie, and in *q* at- adverse things.
 chieving hard enter- *q* performing hard
 prizes. matters.

Here Tully noteth
 wherein a valiant
 minde is discerned: is *q* alwaies discerned *q* altogether.
 to wit, in two
 things especially. ned in two things
 The first whereof is, especially: where-
 in despising outward of the one consi-
 steth

q contempt.

q it is perswaded to a man.

q a man to owe to admire, wish or to desire earnestly nothing but that, &c.

q and to yeeld to none, neither man.

q no.

q passion or affection.

q affected.

q doc.

q matters.

q vehemently.

steth in the q de- things. When as a
spising of outward man is perswaded
things: when q one that hee ought nei-
is perswaded, q that ther to admire, nor
a man ought not so much as to wish
either to admire, any thing but that
or to wish, or ear- which is honest and
nestly to desire a comely: nor yet to
ny thing, but yeeld either to man
what is honest and or passion of mind
comely; q neither or to fortune, but
to yeeld to q any onely to right rea-
son.

either man, or q per-
turbation of mind,
nor to fortune.

The other thing The second is, that
is, that when you when a man is thus
are so q disposed disposed in mind,
in mind, as I said he undertake the
before, you q un- atchieving of great
dertake great q en- euterprizes, & those
terprizes, & those such as may bee
indeed most pro- most profitable; but
fitable, but q very very hard and full of
hard, and full of travell and danger,
travell and danger both unto life, and
both of life, and other things apper-
taining to the com-
fort thereof.
also

also of many
things which * ap- * to life do belong.
pertain unto life.

Now, hee sheweth All the q glory q splendour or
that all the glorie, and q honour of shining brightness.
honour and profit these two things, q dignitie.

arising of these two things, is in this latter of them; but the
I adde q moreover, q also.
the profit * is in the * stands

cause and means of later; but the cause
making worthe and meanes making worthe men,
men is in the former of them, because the despising
of all outward things, as riches & honours, is the way
to make excellent

courages. For q therein is that q that is [or con-
which maketh ex- sists] therein.

cellent courages, q and such as de- q and despising
spise all humane worldly vanities.

This againe he teacheth to appeare in
these two things: q same q appeareth q same thing.

First, if a man judge in two things; if q is seene.

that thing onely to be good which is
you both judge
that thing onely
to be good which
is honest, and also
be free from all

Because this is, first, q disquietnesse. For q perturbation or
to be accounted the it is to be accounted vexation of mind.

ted

q account small, or
make small recko-
ning of.

q picked out, or
most notable or
choice.

q very famous.

* Steadfast.

q firme reason.

q which being ma-
ny and diuers are
conuersant [or fall
out.]

q fortune [or con-
dition] of men.

q that you depart
nothing.

q state.

q nothing from.

ted the part of a true property of a
valiant & worthy valiant mind; not
mind, both to q set onely to set light
light, by those by those outward
things, which seem things, which seem
to most men q sin- to most men excel-
gular and q excel- lent and singular,
lent; and also to but also to con-
contemne the same temne them with a
with a * stable and stable judgement.

q grounded judge-
ment.

And like-
wise this is [a tokē]

of a valiant cou-
rage and of great

constancie, so to
beare those things

which seeme bit-
ter, q wherof there

are many and di-
verse in the life and

q state of man,

q as that you no-

thing swerue from

the q order of na-

ture, q nor from

the dignitie of a

wife

And secondly, be-
cause this declareth
a valiant courage
& rare constancie,
for a man so to
beare the hardest &
bitterst things that
can fall out in this
life, bee they never
so many, as that hee
never iwarre one
jot from the state &
order of nature, nor
from the dignitie
of a wise man, to
doe any thing a-
gainst either of
these.

And this againe, wise man. More-
because it is not over, it is not *q* su- *q* agreeable or likely.
meet that hee table *q* that hee *q* him to be broken.
should bee over- should be subdued
come by any in- with *q* inordinate *q* covetous desire.
ordinate desire, desire, who cannot
who cannot bee be *q* subdued by *q* broken.
overcome by fear; feare. Nor *q* that *q* him to be over-
much lesse be con- he should be con- come of pleasure.
quered by pleasure, quered by plea-
who hath shewed sure, who hath
himselfe unconque- shewed himselfe
rable by any travell. *q* unconquerable *q* invincible.
q by [any] travell. *q* by labour.

Wherefore both
these [vices] are to
be *q* avoided: also *q* shunned.
covetousnesse of
money is to be
q eschewed. *q* For *q* fled.
there is no such a *q* for nothing is of
signe of a base and so strict and little a
ignoble mind, as courage.
to love riches:
q nor any thing *q* nothing honest.
more *q* honest and *q* commendable.
q noble, than to *q* magnificent.
despise

q contemne.

q despise money, if you have it not; [&] if you have it, to bestow it in bountie and liberalitie.

q imploy it unto.

The desire likewise of glorie is to be taken heed of, as I said before. For it plucketh away freedom of mind, for the which all contentiō ought to be q amongst men of worthie spirits.

q to couragious men.

And secondly, that he is to beware of a desire of glory: because that plucketh from him freedom of mind, for which all noble spirits ought chiefly to contend.

q Neither verily [are] empires to be earnestly desired, & rather not to be received sometimes, or now and then to be layed downe.

q And indeed we ought nor to seeke for rule; but rather, sometimes either not to receive it, or otherwise to give it over. We must also bee free

Thirdly, that he do not proudly seeke for soveraintie; but sometimes not to receive it being offered, otherwise to give it over, being had.

q passion or disquietnesse of mind.

from all * perturbation of mind, both from desire, and feare, and also from

Fourthly, that hee labour to bee free from all perturbation of mind, as namely desire, fear,

griefe, voluptuous- from *q* griefe, and *q* sickness of mind.
 nesse, and angri- *q* voluptuousnesse, *q* pleasure of mind.
 nesse ; that so hee and angri- nesse ;
 may inioy both *q* that we may in- *q* that quietnesse of
 trāquillitie of mind ioy tranquillitie & mind may be pre-
 and also securitie, securitie, *q* which served and voidnesse
 which may bring of care.
 him both constancy may bring both
 and a worthy esti- *q* constancy, and *q* steadfastnesse and
 mation. also worthie esti- also dignitie.
 mation.

Here he taketh oc-
 casion to speake of
 some, who earnest-
 ly desiring to attain
 this tranquillitie,
 have withdrawne
 themselves from
 publike busineses,
 and betaken them
 to follow a quiet
 life.

But many there

are and have been,

who earnestly de-

siring that same

q tranquillity of

mind, which I

speake of, have

q withdrawn the-

selves from *q* pub-

licke busineses, &

have *q* betaken

themselves unto

q a quiet life.

q Amongst these,

both the noblest

Philosophers, *q* &

even the very chief

ces or chiefe.

q removed.

q common affayres.

q fled or got them-

selves away.

q idlenesse, quiet-

nesse or ease.

q in these,

q and far the prin-

ces or chiefe.

[of

]

And amongst o-
 thers some of the
 noblest and verie
 chief Philosophers,

q Amongst these,

both the noblest

Philosophers, *q* &

even the very chief

ces or chiefe.

q in these,

q and far the prin-

ces or chiefe.

[of

]

q others also constant or upright.

q beare.

q princes.

q some of them.

q fields or desert places, or the fielden countie.

q matter belonging to their family, or private businesse.

q The same thing hath bin propounded to these which also [hath bin] to Kings.

q that they might not obey any man, that they might use liberty.

q as you will.

q of them who are covetous.

* of ruling or to be great.

q with those (whom

[of them] q and indeed both severe

and grave men,

could neither endure the manners

of the people, nor

of the q rulers ; &

q many of them

have lived in q moun-

nour places, de-

lighted [onely]

with q their home

matters. q These

aymed at the same

end, which Kings

doe ; that they

might need no-

thing, q obey no

man, use their own

libertie : whose

property it is, to

live q as they list.

Wherefore, fifth

this is common

q both to them

who are desirous

* of power, q and

those

and some most severe & grave men, because they could neither endure the manners of the people, nor the rulers, have chosen to live in remote and solitary places, delighting themselves only in their domesticall occasions.

Also for these hee sheweth what ends they aimed at herein ; viz. the same ends which Kings doe ; that is, That they might need nothing, obey no man, use their owne liberty, and indeed live at they list.

Now both these sorts, viz both Philosophers and great men aiming at this

tranquillity & freedom from all disturbance; the one sort, viz. the great men think that they can obtaine it, if they can get great wealth; the other, if they can be content with their owne & with a little.

And for these two sorts hee declareth that neither of their opinions are utterly to be despised. First, because the life of those who have betaken themselves to live privately and quietly, is both more easie & safe, and also lesse grievous and troublesome to others.

But the life of those who apply themselves to government, for the good of the common-

those seeking a quiet life, whom I spake of; the one sort thinke *q* that they themselves to bee able to obtaine it, if they have great wealth; the other, if they be content

q with their owne *q* both. *q* and a little. *q* and with a little.

q Wherein verily *q* In which indeed.

the opinion of neither [of them] *q* is to be contented altogether. *q* is to be contented altogether.

q For the life of those who have betaken themselves to live quietly, is both more easie & more safe, and lesse grievous or troublesome to others: but [the life] of them who have applied themselves to the good of the Common-

q But, *q* the idle or free from great business. *q* fixed themselves to the common- weale.

L weale,

q doe worthily or weale, and to q at- wealth, or to at-
 goe through with. chieve great mat- chive great maters
 q fruitfull or bene- ters, is more q pro- for the same, is
 ficall to the kinde fitable for man- more profitable to
 of men. kinde, and q fitter more fit for attay-
 q more spr. for fame and q ho- ning fame and ho-
 q greatnesse. nour. Wherefore nour.
 q peradventure it q it may bee that Moreover, hee tea-
 may be yeilded to both they are to cheth that many of
 thole not going to them who have
 take, &c. bre borne withall, chosen the private
 q taken in hand or who doe not q un- life may be borne
 meddled with the dertake the affaires withall in another
 commonweale, of the Common- respect; because be-
 viz. to deale in such wealth, who being ing of excellent
 matters, of an excellent wit, wits they betake
 themselves to the
 * applied. have* given them- studie of learning.
 selves wholly to
 quietnesse and to
 q and also to thole. learning: & q also As also such as be-
 they who being ing hindred throug
 q imbecillity of hindred by q sick- inthritie of body,
 their health. nesse, or some o- or some other more
 ther more weighty weighty cause, have
 q gone backe [or cause, have retired or the affaires of
 departed] from the themselves from the commonweale
 common-weale. businesse of the to others.
 Common - weale,
 when

whenas they qyeel- q^aunted.

ded unto others

both the * power

* authority or li-
beritie.

and * praise of ma-

* commendation.

naging of the same.

But for them who
have no such occa-
sion, and yet with-
draw themselves
from publike ser-
vices in the common
wealth, onely upon

pretence that they
contemne those
things which most
men so admire, as
namely rule & ma-
gistracy; hee shew-
eth that hee taketh
it to bee not onely
no commendation
to them, but a fault
in them: for that

howsoever their
judgement may
seeme not to be al-
together disallowed
for despising glory,
yet they may with-
all bee thought to
feare the troubles
and griefes which

But to whom

there is no such

q occasion, if they q cause.

is y, q that they con-

q themselves to de-
spise.

temne those things

which most men

q have in admi- q admire.

ration, [as] rule &

q magistracy; q to

q bearing office.

those I thinke it

q I thinke it to be
given to those not

worthie to be ac-

only not for praise,
but also for a fault.

counted not onely

no commendation,

but also a fault.

q Whose judgemēt

q The judgement

it is verie hard to

of whom, in that

disallowe, in that

they contemne

they despise glory,

glory and count it

and esteeme it as

for nothing, is a

nothing. But they

done not to allowe

seeme to q feare the

or approve.

q troubles & griefs q thinke.

q travels and.

L 2 both

q offences.

* having repulses.

q are little constant
to themselves.

q broken.

q not constantly
enough.

q magistracies or
governments,
q obtained,

q governed by
them.

q helps of dispatch
of businelle by
nature.

both of q giving follow such cal-
offence, and also of lings, as a certaine
repulses, as a cer- reproach and in-
taine reproach and famie.

infamie. For there And then giveth
be [some] who the reason hereof;
q doe not agree becaule some are of
with themselves in such a disposition,
contrarie matters; as that they agree
who doe most se- not with them-
verely contemne selves in contrary
pleasures, are more matters: as, who
tender in griefes, severely contemning
regard not glory, pleasures, cannot
[and] bee q over- yet indure griefe;
come with infamy, and despising glory,
mie. And these are yet overcome
things indeed [they with infamy.

doe] q very uncon-
stantly. But q of-
fices are to bee
q gotten, and the
Common wealth

is to be q served of And therefore bee
them, who have teacheth that such
q by nature helps men who have the
of dispatch of dis- best helps of di-
patch of businelle spatch of businelles

are rather to sue for *finesse*, all lingering
 offices, that they *q* set aside. For o- *q* cast away.
 may serve the com- *therwise* neither
 monwealth, all de- *can q* the State be *q* acitie.
 laies and excuses *set aside.* governed or the
 Because otherwise *greatnesse* of cou-
 neither can the *rage* be declared.
 state bee governed, *Moreover*, both
 nor their greatnesse *a q* majestic and *q* magnificence.
 & worth declared. *q* despising of *q* contempt.
 Moreover he shew- *worldly* things
 eth, that all such as *(which q* I oft re- *q* I speake of oft.
 take upon them any *pear)* also *q* tran- *q* quietnesse.
 government in the
 common weale, are *quillity* of mind
 to despise worldly *and q* security is *q* voidnesse of care.
 things, and to seeke *to bee q* used of *q* added or practised
 after quietnesse of *them, who* take
 mind and security, *upon them [any]*
 as well as the Philo- *government in the*
 sophers, or more, if *Common- weal*,
 that they will not *nothing lesse* than
 bee overmuch op- *of Philosophers, I*
 pressed with cares, *q* knowe not whe- *q* wor nor,
 but live with gravi- *ther [not] q* more *q* yea much more
 tie and constancie. *also; if so be* that *I suppose.*
 they will not bee
q overmuch op- *q* carefull.

¶ and.

¶ lead their life.

¶ by how much not
so many things in
their life lie open,
which fortune may
strike.

¶ and by how much
they litle need ma-
ny things.

¶ shall fall out.

¶ enterprises.

¶ meet to be com-
pelled.

¶ them who ma-
nage the common-
weale.

pressed with cares,

¶ but will ¶ live

with gravity and

constancy. Which

things be so much

more easie to Phi-

losophers, ¶ the

fewer things they

have in their life,

which fortune may

strike ; ¶ and for

that they doe not

stand in need of

many things, and

also because they

cannot fall so grie-

vously, if any ad-

versity ¶ betide.

Wherefore, not

without cause,

greater motions of

[their] mindes are

stirred up, & grea-

ter matters are ¶ to

bee done by ¶ the

governours of the

Common - weale,

then

And thereunto they
must strive more
earnestly, because
the fewer things of
the world the Phi-
losophers have to
lose, the more easie
is it, to despise it;
and also for that
they doe not stand
in need of so many
thing, as the magi-
strate & great man,
neither can fall so
grievously whatse-
ver adversity doth
betide.

Likewise, because
such great commo-
dities have occasi-
ons of greater stir-
rings of their
mindes, & for that
greater matters are
to be don by them,
then by Philoso-
phers: whereupon

they have need of then by them who
more greatnesse of live quietly. And *q* the quiet or pri-
courage & freedom therefore *q* the vate.
from vexations.

more greatnesse of *q* by how much
courage and free- both greatnesse of
dom from vexa- courage & freedom
tions is to be used from griefs is more
to be added to
of them. Moreo- these.

Lastly, hee giveth
three caveats to all
that are to archive
any great matters.

ver, whosoever
commeth *q* to at- *q* to performe a
chieve any great businesse.

matter. lethin take

1. That they take
heed, they doe not
onely consider, that
the matter bee ho-
nest, but also that
they have abilitie
to performe it.

heed, 1. That hee
do not only *q* con- *q* consider that
sider, how honest thing.
the matter is, but

also, *q* how it may *q* how it may have
bee discharged. a faculty or abilitie
to be effected.

2. That they weigh
all things so wisely,
as that they neither
despaire, through
cowardlines of the
effecting thereof,
nor yet be over con-
fident through a
greedie desire.

2. In which *q* thing *q* same thing.
q a man must con- *q* it is to be confi-
sider, that hee nei- dered.

ther *q* despaire tho- *q* be out of hope.
row *q* cowardli- *q* sluggishnesse, or
nesse, *q* nor bee o- lacke of courage.
ver confident tho- *q* or trust overmuch.

row a greedy de-

3. That as in all bu-

sire. 3. Also a dili-
gent

g added.

q goe into them or
goe in hand with
them & undertake
them.

gent preparation is
to be q used in all
busineses, before
you q goe about
them.

sinesses, a man is to
use a diligent pre-
paration, so like-
wise, as the matter
is greater, to be
more carefull there-
in.

Chap. 26.

The Argument.

q reacheth.
q arguments.

q more valiant.

* in busineses be-
longing to the citie
than to the warre.
* martiall feats.

[Tully] q shew-
eth by many q rea-
sons [in this Chap-
ter] that it is q a
matter of greater
valour, so excell* in
civill than warlike
affaires, and [spea-
keth] somewhat con-
cerning himselfe.

q verie many men.
q things belonging
to war, v. q martiall
feats.

B Ut whereas
q most men
thinke q martiall
affaires to be grea-
ter

Here Tully (about
to teach that to ex-
cel in civill affaires,
is no lesse commend-
ation, than in mar-
tial exploits, but ra-
ther greater) shew-
eth 1. That where-
as most men think
the contrary, their

opinion is to bee ^{ter than "civill, this " citie causes or}
 confuted And this ^{opinion is to bee} matters.
 hee doth, ^{q diminished or}
 1. By propounding ^{q altered. For ma- abated,}
 the end which most ^{uy have oft times}
 men aime at in war, ^{sought warres, for}
 to win, getting glory ^{the desire of glory;}
 and renowne; espe- ^{& that falleth out}
 cially if they bee of ^{for most part in-}
 high stomacks and ^{great q stomacks q mindes or coura-}
 excellent wits, and ^{and [excellent] ges.}
 withall fitted for ^{wits: and so much}
 chivalrie and de- ^{the rather, if they}
 sirus of warfare by ^{be [men] fit for}
 nature. ^{q chivalry, and de- q military service,}
 sirus of warfare.

2. By sundry exam- ^{q Yet if wee will q But.}
 ples both of the ^{judge q aright, q truly.}
 Grecians and Ro- ^{there have beene}
 manes, of city busi- ^{many q Citie busi- q matters belong-}
 nesses which have ^{nesses greater and ing to the citie.}
 bin greater and no- ^{q nobler, than the q more famous.}
 bler than the Mar- ^{q martiall. 1. For q warlike.}
 tiall. ^{although Themi.}

The first whereof ^{foeles be q right: y q bee commended}
 is taken from the ^{commended, and by right, or right-}
 Athenians, by com- ^{his name be more fully or justly.}
 paring and prefer- ^{famous then [the}
 name]

* Solons.

* famous, or noble.

¶ Judges which determined weightie matters concerning the commonwealth.

¶ this counsell of Solon.

* thought.

* commendable.

¶ profited or did good once onely.

¶ shall profit the citie for ever.

¶ the lawes of the Athenians [are preserved] by this counsell, the institutions of the elders are preserved by this.

¶ And truly.

name] of * *Solon*; ring Solons counsell for Athens before Themistocles victory. That although Themistocles bee rightly commended, and his name more famous then Solons; and also that the victory of Themistocles namely at Salamis bee extolled before that worthy counsell of Solon whereby he first ordained the Areopagites: [yet] ¶ this is to be * adjudged no lesse * praise-worthie then that. 1. For that ¶ availed onely once: this ¶ shall for ever doe good to the Citie. ¶ By this counsell the laws of the Athenians, by this the ordinances of [their] ancestors are preserved. ¶ Moreover, *Themistocles* in very deed said nothing should bee preferred before Solons counsell for Athens before Themistocles victory. That although Themistocles bee rightly commended, and his name more famous then Solons; and also that the victory of Themistocles namely at Salamis bee extolled before that worthy counsell of Solon whereby he first ordained the Areopagites: Yet bee thinketh that indeed, this is to bee adjudged no lesse praise worthe then that, but more, and that for these reasons;

1. Because that victorie did good to Athens once onely, but this counsell should doe it good perpetually; for that by this, their lawes and the ordinances of their ancestors should bee preferred

ved inviolable. nothing, where-
 Secondly, for that with hee helped
 Themistocles said *q* *Arcopagus*. But *q* the village of
 nothing whereby it is true *q* that *The-* Mars where the
 he helped that counsell concerning the *mistocles* was hel- Arcopagites sat in
 Arcopagites : but ped by * him. For judgement or
 hee was helped by *q* the warre was counsell.
 Solon & by them; *q* maintained by *q* Themistocles to
 because that warre the *q* advice of that have bin helped.
 was managed by the Senate which was * Solon.
 the counsell of the *q* managed.
 Senate which was *q* counsell or direc-
 obtayned by Solon. *q* ordained by So- tion.
 The second exam- *lon*. 2. We may say *q* constituted or
 ple, is from the La- *q* the same *q* of appointed.
 cedemonians, in *Pausanias* and *Li-* *q* the same thing.
 preferring the dis- *sander* : by whose *q* concerning.
 cipline of *Lycur-* *q* deedes of armes *q* valorous acts.
 gus the Lawgiver; *q* the empire *q* the empire is
 before the victories *q* the Em thought to have
 of *Pausanias* & *Li-* *sander*. *q* bin enlarged to the
sander. *q* Lacedemonians *q* Lacedemonians.
 Because although *q* thought to have
 the Empire of the *q* beene enlarged;
 Lacedemonians is *q* yet in very deed
 thought to have *q* they are [not] to
 beene enlarged by *q* be *q* compared, no
 their noble exploits *q* not in the least part
 yet those are in o *q* to the lawes and
 patt to bee compa- *q* discipline of *Ly-* *q* compared to the
 red to the lawes and *q* order. *q* laws, &c. not in
 discipline of *Lycur-* *q* the least part.

CXXV.

q moreover they
had, &c.

* upon these occa-
sions.

q prepared or for-
ward.

q more valiant for
these same causes.

q we being children
or when I was a
child.

q to yeeld or give
place.

q nor Q. C. &c.

q were conversant
or imploied.

q Q. C. seemed to
give place, &c.

q weapons or wars
do little availe.

q counsell.

q an emperour or
commander.

q did profit more.

chrys. q Moreo-
ver, for these same

causes, they had

[their] armies both

more q ready and

q valiant. 3. Nei-

ther indeed q when

wee were children,

Marcus Scaurus

seemed q to be in-

feriour to *Caius*

Marius; q nor

when we q had to

to doe in the Com-

mon——wealth,

q *Quintus Catulus*

to *Cneius Pompei-*

us. For q armes

are of small force

abroad, unless there

be q good advice

at home. 3. Nor

Africanus, being

both a singular

man, and a worthy

q Captaine, q did

more service to the

Com-

gus. Besides that by
the means of these,
they had their ar-
mies more readie
and valiant.

A third sort of ex-
amples is taken frō
themselves in sun-
drie particulars: as
in comparing and

closely preferring

M. Scaurus before

C. Marius; and

more lately, *Quin-*

tus Catulus before

Cneius Pompeius,

the government &

counsell of the one

before the Martiall

acts of the other.

And then giveth

the reason of it. Be-

cause armes are liq-

le worth abroade,

unless there be good

counsell at home.

3. By comparing

P. Nasica a private

man, to Africanus.

That although A-

ffricanus was indeed

a singular man and

a worthy Captaine,

yet hee did not

more service to the

common weale in
taking and razing
Numance, than
Publius Nasica
when he slew Tib.
Gracchus. And
howbeit that act of
Nasica might seem
not onely civill but
martiall, because it
was done by force
& strong hand, yet
it was done by the
counsell of the city
alone without any
armie.

Common wealth
in *q* razing of Nu-
mance, *q* then at
the same time, *Pab-*
lius Nasica a pri-
vate [man] [did]
when he slew *Ti-*
berius Gracchus.

q cutting downe,
destroying, beating
downe or sacking.
q then P.N. being a
private [man] did]
at the same time
when, &c.

q Howbeit this
case indeed is not
onely of a civill
consideration. For
it concerneth also
the warlike; be-
cause it was done
by force and by

q Although this
thing in truth is not
onely of the domes-
ticall reason, [or a
civill matter] for it
toucheth also the
warlike [or belong-
eth to martiall
feats] &c.

q strong hand : *q* hand.

yet the very same
was done, by *q* the
counsell of the Ci-
tie, without an ar-
my. That also is

q hand.
q citie counsell.

q a worthy [speech] *q* the best.

wherein I heare

q that I am wont *q* me to be wont.

to be *q* taxed of en- *q* invaded, set upon
vious and lewd or touched.

[per-

This point hee fur-
ther confirmeth by
a worthie & gene-
ral approved speech
of his owne, how-
soever some envious
and lewd persons
did carpe at him for
it : to wit, this;

* Let wars give [persons.]

place to peace, let
the laurell branch
[or garland] be
grauyed to the
orator.

q weapons or wars,
because weapons
are a signe of war.

q gowne put for
peace whereof it is
a signe, or for civill
magistracy.

q the laurell branch
a signe of eloquence
or a reward thereof.

* passe over.

q other [men.]

q armed men.

q gowne or magi-
stracy in the cite.

q we governing, or
when I governed.

q a greater perill.

q slidden speedily
out, &c. by our
counsell and dili-
gence fell.

* Let q armes Let armes give
place to the gowne;
place to the gowne,
the laurel to the O-
rators tongue.

Let the q laurell
yeeld to the [Ora-
tors] tongue.

For, that I may omit q others,
he verifieth, instan-
cing in his owne
example, to omit
others.

yeeld unto the
q robe, q when we
By an interrogation
to his sonne, as of a
matter notoriously
knowne; &c. whe-
ther in his govern-
ment, armes did
not yeeld to the
robe, whenas
(though there was
never forer daunger
nor greater hatred
in the common-
weale; yet the v. rie
weapons seemed to
fall out of the bol-
dest enemies hands,
all being husht by
his owne counsell
and diligence.

governed the Co-
mon-weale? For
neither was there
ever q a forer dan-
ger nor greater
hatred in the Com-
mon-weale: so that
the very weapons
q slipping forth-
with out of the
hands of the bol-
dest Citizens, fell
[to the ground]

by our counsells &
diligence. q What
so

Therefore what so

What

What

What

Now hee asketh so great an exploit groat a matter in
 him, what so great I pray you, was e- war was ever done.
 an exploit was ever
 don in war, or what
 triumph was to bee
 compared with it. what triumph [is]
 to bee compared

And then giveth a [with it ?] *q* For I *q* For (sonne Mark)
 reason of this his I may boast with
 bould glorying you, " who are to
 therein; That it was be the inheritor or
 but unto him, his heyre of my glory
 sonne, as unto and imitator of my
 whom both the in- acts.
 heritance of his
 glory, & the imita-
 tion of his deeds
 did appertaine. glory, and also the
 imitation of [my]
 deeds doth apper-

And secondly hee
 declareth further
 the truth heerof by
 the franke testimo-
 nie & commendati-
 on of Cn. Pompei-
 us a singular man
 for all martiall prai-
 ses, who ascribed
 thus much unto
 him whenas he said
 That it had been in
 vaine for him to
 have had a third
 triumph, but for In very
 truth, Cneius Pom-
 peius, a man q a- q flowing full.
 bounding with all
 martiall praises,
 * attributed this * gave me this
 unto mee q in the commendation.
 * hearing of ma- q many hearing,
 ny, q whenas hee q audience.
 said, that q hee q that he said.
 should in vaine q himselfe to beare
 away in vaine.
 have borne away
 the third triumph,

* u2-

* had he not had.

* meanes.

q triumph.

q domesticall fortitudes, or courage at home.

* militarie exploits.

q more labour and study is to be put.

* reputation, credit, q lofty and great.

* wrought, q strength.

q so affected.

* unlesse hee had that hee had a place a place in the in the common
Common-wealth weale through Tul-
by my * benefit, lies wife govern-
where hee might ment, to enioy the
q have triumphed. same. Whence hee
q Home-valorous concludeth, that it
acts, then are not is no lesse but even
inferior unto * mar a greater matter, to
tiall; wherein also excell in civil go-
q we are to bestow vernment, then
more labour and martiall acts: and
studie, than in that therefore we
these. For that are to bestow more
other.

* honestie which And secondly tea-
we seek by a q hau cheth, that the ho-
ty and princely nour wh is sought
courage, is * effec by valour, is archi-
ted by the q power ved chiefly by the
of the mind, not of power of the mind,
the body. Yet the and not of the bo-
body must be dy; although the
exercised and body must bee
qbrought into such brought in order, to
order, as that it become serviceable
may bee able to o-
bey counsell and reason

to the mind for executing businesses & enduring travell. reason, in executing businesses, & enduring' travell. *q* sustaining or abiding travell.

But the honour which is sought by civill government, doth wholly consist in the care and casting of the mind. But that honestie which wee *q* search out, doth wholly consist in the care and *q* casting of *q* devising. the mind. Wher- in they bring no lesse commodity, who governe the common — wealth *q* in peace, than *q* being gowned or they that make war abroad.

And fourthly also, that by the advice at home, wars are usually ordered and managed abroad, for the attempting, beginning and ending of them. warre. And therefore wars are oftentimes either not *q* begun, or ended, *q* undertaken. and now and then attempted, by their *q* advice : as the *q* counsell. third *q* Punicke *q* war of Carthage. This he instanceth in the third Punicke war, guided by the counsell of M. Cato, which they obeyed *cas* Cato: in which eve after his death. the authority of M him

q being dead.

q reason or wisdom
of discerning or de-
creeing is to be de-
sired more, or of
* ending the warre.
q fortitude of striv-
ing.

q flight of fighting.
q for the reason of
profit.

q And let war be
taken in hand so.

q And tis of a vali-
ant and constant
mind.

* resolute.

q troubled in sharp
matters.

him prevailed, e-
ven *q* after his

death. Wherefore Whereof hee infer-
certainly *q* wis- reth, that wisdom
dome in * deter- in advising & deter-
mining is rather mining or ending
to be desired, than war, is to be prefer-
q valour in fight- red before valour
in fighting.

But we must Yet herein hee gi-
beware, that wee veth this caution:
doe it not rather That we do not ad-
vise for the ending

of war, onely for
of warre, then *q* in avoiding the pre-
regard of commo- sent danger and
dity. *q* And so let trouble thereof, but
warre be taken in for the good of the
hand, that no com- common-weale.

And that warre is e-
ver to bee so under-
taken, as that no-
thing may seeme to
have bin sought in
it, but an honest &
safe peace.

q It is
moreover, indeed
a token of a valo-
rus and * constant

courage, not to be
q disquieted in
rough stormes ;

nor

Lastly, hee noteth
one other token of
a true valorous and
constant courage,
viz. for a man not

to bee daunted or nor * making a * utterly out of or
disquited so, as to hurliburly, q to be der.
do any thing swar- cast downe from q to be ca^d downe
ving from reason, his place, as it is from the degree or
whatsoever dangers said; but to q sol- q use the counsell of
or evils shall betide; low the advice of a present mind.
but ever to follow the wise advice of a present resoluti-
a present resoluti- on: nor yet to
And therefore that q swarue from * rea- q depart.
he have not onely son. Although * wisdom.
courage to resolve, q this proceedeth q this is of a [great]
but also an excel- from a worthy re- mind or courage,
lent wit to conceive solution, that also that also of a great
of whatsoever may from an excellent wit.
be likely to fall out; wit, q to cōceive a- q to perceive by ca-
& so to determine forehand of things sing things to
afore what to doe; to come; and to come.
and never to doe q determine some- q appoint.
any thing, whereof what before, what
he may say, Had I may q fall out on q happen or betide
will. both sides, & what on either part.
is do be done when
anything shal hap- q commit any thing.
pen, nor to q doe q it should be said I
ought that at any had not thought; or
time q a man should had I thought of
say, Had I wist. such a matter, I had
done thus or thus.

M 2 These

q trusting to or leaning upon.

q to be conversant rashly in the edge or forefront of the battell.

q skirmish with the enemy with hand.

q outrageous or fierce.

q like unto beasts.

q But.

* must preferre death.

q servitude or bondage.

These are the workes of a great and lofty courage, and *q* relying upon prudence & counsell. But *q* for a man to thrust himselfe rashly into the forefront of the battell, & to *q* fight with the enemy hand to hand, is a certaine *q* brutish and *q* beastly thing. *q* Yet when time & necessity doth require, a man must fight hand to hand, and * death is to be preferred before *q* slavery & shame.

These things hee teacheth to bee the workes of a great & worthy courage, guided by prudence and counsell. But contrarily, for a man to thrust himselfe into danger, as into the forefront of the battell, or to fight with the enemy hand to hand, rashly & without just cause, hee counteth it a certaine brutish and beastly thing; Although when time and necessity doth require it indeed, a man is to fight hand to hand, and to prefer death is selfe before slavery or shame.

Chap.

Chap. 27.

[Here hee teacheth] *q* that cru- *q* crueltie and also
 elty and also rash- rashnesse [to be] far
 nesse are unbesitting off from the dutie of
 a valorous man. a worthie stomack.

Here Tully teacheth, how valorous men are to carrie themselves in the razing and sack-king of cities.

That they are then to take heed of two faults principally, viz. rashnesse, and cruelty.

1. That in the end of all, the victorie being fully gotten, they looke to these threethings chiefly: viz. to punish the chiefe offenders; to preserve the multitude or common sort; and finally, to maintaine right &

B Ut *q*as concer- *q* of or touching
 ning the razing and spoiling of riches,
 zing and sack- that is greatly to be
 ing of Cities, this is considered.

principally to be considered, that
q nothing be done *q* not any thing.
 rashly, nor any
 thing cruelly.

And that *q* is the *q* is [the part] of.
 condition of a va- a noble mind.
 lorous man, *q* in *q* matters being
 the end of broyles, tolled or ended.

to punish the offenders to *q* preserve *q* save the common
 the multitude, to sort.
q maintaine right *q* retaine right and
 honest things in

M 3 and each fortune.

Tullies Offices

and honestie in e- honestly in each
very state. state and degree.

Chap. 28.

q undertaken of
a valiant man.

*How perils are
to bee qadventured
by a valiant man.*

q martiall matters
or affaires, to civill,

* dangerous.

* subtilie.

q counsels.

q more bright.

q cogitations or
counsels.

q we must never at
all.

q commit for flight
of perill.

FOr as there are Tully being here
some (as I said about to set downe
before) who pre- some other duties
ferre q martiall of valour in warre,
prowesse before C- sheweth, that as
tie busineses: So there be some such,
you shall find ma- as prefer martiall
ny, to whom * pe- prowesse before ci-
rillous and * cra- ty busineses; so
ty q devices seeme there are many
q gloriofer & grea- who thinke subtilie
ter than quiet q con- & dangerous plots,
sultations. more glorious than
quiet and safe con-
sultations.

I. q Indeed wee
must never q so
carry our selves for
avoiding danger,
that

And here teacheth,
1. That wee never
lo carrie our selves

in war, as that for that wee should
 avoiding dangers, seeme *q* cowards *q* cowardous, and
 wee should seeme and *q* dastards; timorous.
 cowards & dastards. *2 q* Yet *q* we must *q* bur.
 1. That wee never also take heed of *q* that also is to be
 thrust our selves in- fled.
 to dangers with- this, that wee thrust * that.
 out just cause; for not our selves in- *q* offer not our
 that is, of all other, to dangers with- selves to.
 most foolish. out cause; than
 which, nothing can
 be more foolish.

3. That in dangers 3 Wherefore in
 we imitate the *q* attempting dan- *q* going unto or ad-
 courses of good gers, *q* wee are to venturing.
 Physicians, who use imitate the course *q* the custome [or
 but light cures in of Physicians, guise] of Physicians
 light diseases; is to be imitated.
 whereas in more *q* who use light *q* doe lightly cure.
 grievous and de- cures to *q* them *q* men being sicke
 sperate diseases, who are lightly lightly.
 they are inforced diseased; but are
 to use more despe- inforced *q* to mi- *q* to use perilous &
 rate cures. nister dangerous doubtfull cures.
 and doubtfull me-
 dicines to * more * forer sicknesses.
 grievous diseases.

The contrarie prac- *q* Therefore in a *q* wherefore to wish
 tice he sheweth to calme to wish a an adverse [or boy-
 bee the part of a fore

stirous] tempest in a calme, is of a mad man.

q helpe the tempest [or make shift in a tempest] by any means.

q the matter being dispatched, than good the matter being doubtfull.

q and the doing of things.

* great attempts.

q are called into danger.

* reputation and favour of the people.

fore tempest is the part of a mad man; but to q prevent the danger of the tempest, by all manner of meares, is the part of a wise man: and so much the rather if you may obtaine more good, q when the matter is dispatched, than hurt while it is in doubt.

4. q Moreover, the managing of

* things is dangerous, partly to the who undertake, partly to the Common-weale. And

also some q are brought into hazard of [their] life, others of [their] glory, and goodwill of [their] Citizens.

mad man rather than of one wise; & to bee as if a mariner should in a pleasant calme wish a fore tempest; which a wise man should by all manner of meanes seek to prevent.

And for this he teacheth, that we are the rather to labor unto it; if wee may obtaine more good by it, when the matter is quietly and safely dispatched, than wee could whilst it was doubtfull.

4. Whereas the undertaking of such may be dangerous, partly to them who undertake them, & partly to the commonweale; also that thereby some hazard their lives, others their glorie, & good will of their citizens; hee teach-

eth for the first, that we are to bee more readie to adventure of any perill to our selves than to the common-weale : And for the second, that we are to fight more readily for honour and glorie than for other commodities; and so rather to lose life and all, than true glorie. And yet here hee giveth warning of a great fault in sundry against the former of these two. That there have beene many, who though they would readily adventure not onely their money but even their verie lives for their countreies; yet would not lose, no nor the verie least jot of their owne glorie for the same, although never so great dammage should come to it thereby.

zens. We ought therefore to bee more readie, *q* to *q* unto our owne perils than common [dangers.] adventure our owne than common perils; and to fight more readily *q* for *q* concerning or about honour. honour and glory, than for other commodities. But there *q* have beene *q* had. many found, who *q* have been ready to spend not onely [their] * money, * substance. *q* but even [their] *q* but also their life. very life for their Countrey, [& yet] the same *q* would *q* would not make the least losse [or hazard] of their the very least jot of their glorie; no glorie, nor the common-weale requiring. though the Common-weale required it: 1. As, *Callicratides*, who when he was Capitaine

q egregiously or
very worthily.

q at the last,
q obeyed not the
counsell of them.

* transport,

q the Lacedemoni-
ans, that navy
being lost, to be able
to prepare another.

q make forth.

q himsefe not to
be able to flee.

q reproach or
shame.

q indeed.

taine of the Lacedemonians in the Peloponesian war, and had done many things q very notably, overturned all q in the end, when he q followed not their advice, who thought good to *remove the Navie from Arginuse, and not to fight with the Athenians. To whom hee answered, q that the Lacedemonians, though they should lose that Navie, might *prepare another, q [but] that hee could not flee without his q dishonour. And this was q no doubt a

This he confirmeth by three memorable ensamples.
1. One of Calli-
cratides a famous
captaine of the Lacedemoniās, in the Peloponesian war: who having there done many things verie worthily, yet in the end overturned all utterly hereby, when he would needs fight with the Athenians contrary to all advice, and adventure rather the losse of their whole fleet, as it came to passe, than by withdrawing his ships a little and avoiding that fight, to be thought to flee with disgrace; saying that although they should lose their navy they might provide another, but he could not flee without his dishonour.

q pretty A second ensample

is of Cleombrotus *q* prety blow to *q* meane or meetly
another captaine of the Lacedemoni- fore plague.

the Lacedemoni-
ans: 2 [but] that
who upon the like
furnile of disgrace,
would needs en- *q* plague, whereby *q* blow.
counter rashly with the *q* power of the *q* wealth.

Epaminōdas; wher-
in his armie being
overcomne hee ut-
terly overthrew that
whole estate. Lacedemonians
q fell flat to the *q* fell downe or
ground, whenas were spent.

But for the contra-
ry, he sheweth how
much better it is, by
one worthie en-
sample in Q. Fabius *Cleombrotus* fea-
Max. who deterring *ring enuie*, had
to ioyne battel with *rashly q* incoun- *q* skirmished or
Anniball untill hee *tered with Epami-* combated.

saw that hee was
able to overcome
him; howsoever by
delaying hee recei-
ved some present
disgrace, yet at
légth setting fierce-
ly upon him and o-
vercomming him,
recovered eternall
glory to himselfe &
safety to his coun-
trei, for which hee
is so highly extol-

nondas. How much
better [did] *Quin-*
tus Fabius Maxi-
mus? Of whom *En-*
nins [wrote thus;]
One man hath
restored [our]

q State by *q* delay- *q* matter or wealth
ing: to us.

For, hee *q* pre- *q* pausing or pro-
longing of time.
ferred not rumors *q* put not before
before our safety: mens speeches.

Therefore *q* ever *q* the glorie of the
man is famous
the longer his re- both after & more.
nowne

Tullies Offices

nowne is 'more famous. led by Ennius in verse.

q offending or
misdoing.
q citie businesse.

Which kinde of fault must also be avoided in ciuill affaires. For there are [some] who although they thinke that which they thinke, be the very best, yet they dare not utter it for feare of enuy.

* never so good. ;
q speake it.

Chap. 29.

q They that shall
gouerne the com-
mon-weale, let
them altogether
[or ever] keepe two
precepts, &c.

Whosoever shall bee
gouernours in the
common-weal, let
them ever observe
two precepts of
Plato. 1. One [is]
that they so main-
taine the profit of
the

Chap. 29.

Tully here, about
to set downe some
Duties of ciuill go-
uernours, teacheth
that they must ever
observe two pre-
cepts of Plato.

1. That they alwaies
prefer the common

good before their the *q* commons, *q* citizens.
 owne private, and that whatsoever
 erre all that they they doe, they re-
 doe, thereunto. erre it thereunto.

q forgetting their *q* forgetfull.
 owne private com-

1. That they ever commodities. 2. Ano-
 have care for the ther [is] that they
 whole body of the *q* have care for the *q* care for or look to.
 common wealth; whole body of the
 lest upholding som Comonweale: lest
 one part, they leave Comonweale: lest
 the rest destitute. whilst they *q* up- *q* defend [or main-
 For the first of these, hold som one part, taine] any part,
 he sheweth it by the they leave the rest they forsake the
 example of a gardi- destitute. For as rest.
 anship: That as it is a *q* gardianship,
 to be used for their even so the *q* go- *q* wardship or cu-
 commoditie who vernment of the stodie of a child.
 are committed to vernment of the *q* procuracion or
 be governed, not of Common-weale, is administration.
 them to whom they to be *q* used to the *q* done.
 are committed; so commoditie of
 it must be in the them who are co-
 common-weale. mitted [to *q* be go- *q* the government
 For the second, hee of others.
 confirmeth it by a verned] and not
 dangerous effect of them to whom
 that otherwise may *q* it is committed. *q* the government
 insue; That provid- is &c.
 ing for one part *q* But who so pro- *q* But they that pro-
 vide

vide for part of the
citizens, and neg-
lect part.

q citie.

q happeneth.

q people-pleasers.
q studious of everie
best [or greatest]
man.

q few of all.

q discord or brea-
ches.

q pestiferous or
sore.

q principallie or
dominion.

vide for [one] part
of the people, that
they neglect [ano-
ther] part, do bring
in a most pernicio-
ous matter into
the Commonweal,

[to wit] sedition
and discord: wher-
upon it q falleth
out, that some
seeme q popular,
some q affectionate
to the nobility,
[but] few to the
whole. Hereup-

on great q dissen-
tions sprang a-
mongst the Athe-
nians; and not on-
ly seditions, but
also q pestilent ci-
vill warres in our
Common - weale.
Which a grave &
stout citizen, and
worthie of q rule
in

with the neglect of
an other, cause se-
dition and discord,
which are most per-
nicious to the com-
mon-weale.

And moreover that
some of them seem
popular, others set
to please the nobili-
tie, but few that
regard the whole.
The mischiefe hee
manifesteth by par-
ticular instances,
both amongst the
Athenians & them
selves:

That hereupon
great dissensions
sprung among the
Athenians; and not
onely seditions, but
also pestilent civill
warres fel out in their
owne comonweale.
Now these things
he teacheth to bee
such, that a grave
and stout citizen, fit
to beare rule will

flee, and give himselfe wholly to the care of the Common-wealth, without hunting either after riches or greatnesse; and will so defend the whole state, as he may provide for the good of each one.

in the Common-wealth, will flee and hate, and will give himselfe wholly to the common-weal, neither will hee *q* hunt after riches or power; * and will so defend

q follow after or pursue.
* but.

q the whole estate *q* it wholly, that hee may provide for all [men.]

Lastly, hee noteth this as another property of a worthie magistrate, that hee will not bring any into hatred or disgrace by false accusations; but contrarily, will ever so cleave to justice & honestie, as that he will rather incur displeasure or danger, yea even death it selfe, than leave the maintenance & just defence thereof.

Neither in truth will hee *q* bring a- *q* call.

ny man into hatred or enuy by false accusations;

but will *q* alwaies *q* so cleave altogether. so cleave to justice ther.

and honestie, that

q so that hee may *q* so long as, or maintaine it, hee whilst.

q will *q* incurre the *q* may. grievous displea- *q* grievously offend any one.

sure of any; and desire death rather, than forsake those things

things which I
have spoken of.

Chap. 30.

*That it is contrary
to the duty [or con-
dition] of a valiant
mind, to con-
tend, &c.

q magnanimous
[man] or one of a
high mind.

q Ambition no
doubt [or verily.]
q honours.

q whereof.

q said.

q them who.

* To contend ve-
hemently, about ho-
nours, to bee con-
trarie to the dutie
of a q valorous
mind.

q **A**mbition and In this Chapter,
striving for Tully teacheth that
q promotion, is of men of worthie
all other most mi- resolutions, ought
ferable. q Con- to beware of am-
cerning which it is bition, and all bit-
norably q spoken ter contending for
in the same *Plato*; promotion & bea-
q that they who ring rule, as a thing
would contend a- verie miserable.
mong themselves, 1. Comparing their
whether of them contentions to the
should rather rule contentions of ma-
the

riners striving w^{ch} the Cōmon-weale,
 of them should go- *q* should do *q* after *q* to doe.
 verne the ship, and the same fashion, *q* semblably or
 in the meane time as if Mariners, even in like man-
 indanger all. ner.

should strive,
 which of them
 should chiefly go- * holde [or guide]
 verne. the helme.

And secondly, di- 2. And the same
 recting that wec * man hath *q* Al. * Plato.
 should take them * taught us, that we *q* commaunded.
 onely for enemies should take them *Al.* doth teach.
 who beare armes a- *q* thinke them ad-
 gainst us; not those for enemies, who versaries.
 who strive to helpe * beare armes a- * take up armes
 to preserve the gainst us, [and] not or armour.
 common-weale by those who desire
 their discretion. to preserve the
 This later sort of Common-weal by
 contention Tully their *q* discretion; *q* judgement or
 approveth by the *q* as was the dissen- advice.
 example of the dis- sion betweene *q* what a one the
 sension between P. *Publius Africanus*, &c. dissension was, &c.
 Africanus and *Q. Quintus Metellus*,
 Metellus, which without [any] bit-
 was for the more ternesse.
 safe preservation
 of the common-
 weale, without any
 bitterness.

Chap. 31.

q To moderate anger is the property of fortitude.
[It is] q the property of fortitude, to moderate anger.

q indeed.

q to be heard.

q grievously, exceedingly, vehemently.

q at our enemies.

* courageous or generous.

q worthie or beseeching.

q famous man.

q easie to be appeased, and gentle.

N Either *q* certainly are they *q* worthie to be heard, who shall hold opinion that we are to be

q furiously angry with our enemies, and doe judge it the property of a magnanimous and valiant man.

2. For there is nothing more commendable, nothing more *q* seemly for a great and *q* noble personage, then *q* placability and clemency.

3. More-

Chap. 32.

Here Tullie, about to teach that it is the property of true fortitude to moderate anger,

1. Reproveth them as unworthie to be heard, who hold this opinion, That we are to be exceedingly angry with our enemies, and judge it to bee the property of a valiant man.

2. Sheweth that contrarily, nothing is more commendable, nor more becoming a great & noble personage, than placabilitie & clemencie.

Thirdly, that among all free people, and which enjoy equalitie of law, mildnesse & gentlenesse must be joy-
 ned with noblenesse of mind. Because otherwise the magistrates, being angry either with such as come at unfit times, or who are too bould or importunate, fall into testinesse or rage, which is both unprofitable and odious.

3. Moreover q amongst free people, and q where q in free people or cities. q in equalitie or equity of law: there is equality of law, there must be used also * gentle- * mildnesse. nesse, and q noble- qloftinesse of mind. nesse of courage, q as they * call it; q which is said: lest if wee be * tearmit. q angry either with q anger at either. [choise] q who come q consumers unreasonably, or crave without shame, viz. impudent askers. out of time, or who aske impudently, we fall into q testinesse [both] q weywardnesse. unprofitable and odious. And yet q gentlenesse and q mildnesse and clemency * is so to be * approved, that severity be used for the q Common- q cause of the common-weale or good of it. out which a Citie cannot be q governed. q ordered.

Lastly, giveth this caution, that yet gentlenesse and clemencie are so to be approved of, that severity be also used sometimes for the common good, for that without it a citie cannot be governed.

Chap. 32.

¶ wec must temper
our selves especial-
ly from anger in
punishing.

¶ We must especi-
ally abstaine from
anger in all kinde of
correction.

In this chapter,
Tully setteth down
certaine Duties to
be observed in all
manner of corre-

¶ But both all pu-
nishment.

¶ All punish-
ment ought
to bee void of

¶ granting reproach
or contempt.

¶ neither to bee re-
ferred to the com-
moditie of him who
punisheth any.

¶ chastiseth in
words.

¶ behoofe.

¶ conumely; ¶ and
not bee done to
serve histurne who
punisheth or ¶ re-
buketh any, but
to the *commodi-

tie of the Com-
mon-weale. 3. We
must also beware,

¶ lest the punish-
ment be greater
then the fault, and
lest some be puni-
shed for, &c.

¶ that the punish-
ment be not grea-
ter than the fault;

4. And that some
be not punished for
the same causes,

¶ be not indeed equal-
led, [or spoken to.]

others ¶ not so
much as spoken

tion: as,

1. That all punish-
ment and chastise-
ment ought to bee
done without con-
tumely, viz. without
taunting or bitter
speeches, or con-
tempt to the partie
punished.

2. That it bee not
done to serve his
turne onely who in-
flicteth the punish-
ment, but for the
good of the com-
monweale.

3. That there bee
speciall care had,
that the punish-
ment be not grea-
ter than the fault.

4. That all offen-
ding alike, be pu-

to.

nished alike ; & not to. 5. q Likewise, q Also anger is to be
 some punished, c- we must chiefly prohibited[or avoi-
 there not so much refrain from anger ded]in punishing.
 as spoken to.
 Lastly, that they in punishing. For
 who are to punish he that * goeth to * goeth about to
 others doe refrain punish[others] be- take punishment.
 from anger ; and ing angry, shall ne-
 that for this cause ver keep that qme- q measure.
 chiefly;
 Because he that go- diocrity which is
 eth to punish others betweene q too q overmuch.
 being angry, can much and too lit-
 never keep the true tie. Which q[mo- q mediocrity.
 meane which is be- deration] pleaseth
 betweene too much the Peripateticks: * Peripatetiks.
 and too little, and it qliketh them q pleaseth.
 And for this kee- q rightly, so that q justly or well.
 ping a moderation, he commedeth the
 opinion of the Peri- they would not
 pateticks, only dis- commend angry-
 liking the for their nesse, & say, q that q it to be profitably
 approbation of an- it is profitably gi- given of nature.
 grinesse, affirming ven of Nature.
 it to bee profitably
 given by nature. But that [q af- q affection of
 But for this passion fection] is in all angrynesse.
 of angrynesse hee * things to be q ef- * cases.
 teacheth, that it is chewed : and it is q refused.
 in all things to bee
 eschewed : & that it
 were to be wished, q such as governe q they that are over.
 that such as govern N 3 the

q be like of lawes.
q led or drawne.

* wrath.

the Commonweal, the common weale
q be like the lawes; should bee like the
which are q mo- lawes; which pu-
ved to punish not nish, not by angri-
by * angrineffe, but nesse, but onely by
byequity. equite and justice.

Chap. 33.

*It is [the condi-
tion] q of a noble
g of a valorous man.
q arrogant, disdain-
full, proud.
q in prosperous
things, nor to be
cast downe in ad-
verse.*

*max q insolent q in
prosperity, nor to be
dejected in adver-
sity.* Tully, here procee-
ding to teach other
conditions of a no-
ble courage, shew-
eth,

q And also let us flee
greatly pride, dis-
dainfulness, & arro-
gancy in prosper-
ous things and
flowing to our will.

M Recover, in
prosperity,
and when things
flow even at our
will, Let us ear-
nestly flee pride,
disdainfulness &
arrogancy. For as

1. That in prospe-
ritie, and when all
things flow accor-
ding to a mans will,
hee is carefully to
shun these vices,
viz. pride, disdain,
arrogancie, which
usually attend upon
prosperity & great
courage.

it because at it is a to-

ken of inconstancy it is *q* a token of *q* a part of inconstancy to beare adversitie impatiently; so of the other side, to use prosperitie so immoderately, as to fall in to these vices.

2. He teacheth that a continuall evennesse kept in all a mans life, and as it were the same countenance, and one manner of cheere, is verie commendable.

This hee proveth, first, by the examples of Socrates & C. Lelius.

q For a continuall evennesse in all a mans life, also the same countenance ever, *q* and one manner of cheer, is *q* very commendable, as wee have *q* heard concerning *Socrates*, and concerning *Caius Lelius* also.

I see indeed *Philip*

King of the Macedonians to have

beene *q* surmounted by his ** sonne*

in ** valorous acts*

and glory, *q* [yet]

in *q* mildnesse and

courtesie to have

been

q And an even proportion [or equalnesse] in all the life

q and the same forehead.

q famous or notable.

q received.

q excelled or gone beyond.

** Alexander.*

** noble exploits, or prowess.*

q to have bin superior.

q facilitie or gentleness & humanity.

Secondly, of Philip King of Macedonis; who howsoever he was inferior to Alexander his sonne, in valorous acts & glorie: yet for continuall gentlenesse and courtesie was so

q great.

q filthy or dishonest.

q give precepts or teach well.

q that by how much we are superiours [or higher] we carry our selves more submissly by so much.

* demeane.

q Indeed Panetius saith.

q Africanus his hearer [or scholar] to have bin wont to say.

q are wont.

q to deliver to tamers [or horsebreakers] horses vaunting with fierceness for their often contentions of battels.

q use.

* readier.

* headie, headstrong.

beene farre superiour. Therefore the one [was] alwaies q noble; the other oft times most q beastly. That they seeme to q advertise a right, who warne us, q that the higher we are, the lowlyer wee carrie our selves. q Panetius reporteth, q that Africanus his hearer & familiar friend, was wont to say that like as [mē] q use q to put to riders, horses waxing over-fierce for their often fights in battel, that they may q have them the * more gentle; even so should men * unbridled through far superiour unto him, that he was alwaies noble; whereas Alexander by the contrarie carriage was oft verie base & ignoble, through the vices mentioned. Hence hee gathereth this, as a worthy advertisement; That the higher wee are, the lowlyer we carry our selves. Thirdly, he illustrateth it by the testimonie of Panetius, concerning a speech of Africane his hearer and familiar friend, who was wont to say, and so to urge this point, by this similitude, That like as men are wot to put their great horses to riders, to the end to have them more gentle, whereas otherwise they would prove over fierce, through their often

fights in battel; e- through prosperi-
 ven so men being ty, & q overmuch q trusting too much
 too unbridled trusting to them- to [or overweening
 through an over- selves, be brought of] themselves to
 weening of them- as it were, within owe to be brought,
 selves, are to bee as it were, into the
 brought within the the compasse of circuite of &c.
 the compasse of reason and lear-
 and learning, that they
 they may thorow- might thorowly
 ly behold the frail- behold q the frail- q weaknesse.
 tie of all the things ty of humane * the world.
 of this life, and the
 inconstancie of for- things, and the
 tune. q wavering of for- q varietie or incon-
 stancie. q Moreover, stancie.

Lastly, he directeth q And also we must
 that in our greatest use most of all the
 prosperitie we bee counsell of our
 especially careful friends in our most
 to use the advice of high prosperitie.
 our friends, & then q and a greater au-
 also to give them thoritie is to bee
 greater authoritie given to them than
 over us than ever before.
 before, for the free q those same.
 advising of us. fore: and at q those
 And, or the other- times wee must
 side, to take heed take heed, that
 chiefly at such wee open not our
 times, that wee har- cares to flatterers,
 ken not to flatter- nor

* clawed with flattery.

q to be such as we may be praised by right.

* arise.

q opinions.

q conversant [or intangled.]

q in the greatest errors.

q But truly these matters liether to.

nor suffer our selves to be flattered, wherein it is an easie thing to be deceived. For we then thinke our selves q such, that of right wee may be praised: whereof innumerable faults doe * spring; whenas men puffed up with q conceits, are shamefully scorned, and are q wrapped q in very grosse errors. But of these matters thus farre. rers; nor suffer our selves to be flattered in any case; because it is so easie a matter to be deceived by them: for that, listning to them, we thinke our selves worthie of what praise soever they give us; whereof he sheweth, that innumerable evils doe spring; and namely this, that being puffed up with conceitednesse of our selves, we are oft times scorned and abused very shamefully, & wrapped in verie grosse errors.

Chap.

Chap. 34.

The dutie of a
noble mind in an
honest & private
life.

vacation or free-
dome from bu-
sinesse.

Chap 34.

Tully here (being
about to teach that
there may be a no-
ble mind, even in a
private life, & some
Duties thereof) de-
clareth fi. st,
That although the
noble acts, & which
be seeme best the
greatest courages,
are to bee underta-
ken by them chief-
ly who govern the
commonweale, be-
cause their govern-
ment appertaineth
to the most; yet that
there bee and have
bin many of noble
minds who have
lived a private and
a quiet life,
Who would still be
either searching out

THis then is
to be so jud-
ged; The greatest
& acts, and of the
greatest courage to
bee & undertaken
by them, who go-
verne the Com-
monweale; because
their & govern-
ment & extendeth
the farthest, & ap-
pertaineth unto
most. & Yet there
be, and have been
many of great cou-
rage, even in the
quiet life, who
would either search

But that.
taken thus, that
the,
& things or deeds.

done,

administration,
& lieth open or rea-
cheth most largely.

And to be, and
have beene.

private.
& trace or trie out.

out

¶ take in hand.

* enterprises.

¶ containe.

* placed or set.

¶ household busi-
nesse, good, dome-
sticall or private
estate.

¶ not heaping it up
indeed by everie
way.

* barring.

* If at any time need
should require.

¶ which substance
or goods.

out or ¶ indeavour or indeavouring som
certain great * mat- great matters, yet
ters, and ¶ keep keeping themselves
themselves within of their owne cal-
the boundsof their lings & busineses;
owne busineses; Or else being of a
or else being * cast middle ranke be-
betweene Philoso- tweene Philoso-
phers, and those rule the common-
that rule the Com- weale, have deligh-
mon-weale, would ted themselves with
bee delighted with their owne dome-
sticall affaires and
their owne ¶ hous- estate; not heaping
hold substance; up riches by any
¶ not heaping up manner of bad
the same by all means, nor exclu-
manner of meanes, ding others from
the use thereof; but
nor * excluding rather imparting
theirs from the use their goods both to
thereof; but rather the use of their
imparting it both friends, and of the
to [their] friends, & common-weale, if
to the Common- there have beene
weale, * if there need at any time.
should bee need at Secondly, he giveth
any time. certaine precepts
concerning the sub-
stance of such.

¶ Which first let
it

Gotten, and not by it be *q* well gotten, *q* gotten well.
 any dishonest or *q* by no dishonest *q* neither by no
 dious gaine. nor *q* odious gain. filthie, &c.
 2. That they have it *q* Secondly, let it *q* filthie.
 ever in readinesse *q* be in readinesse for *q* than that it shew-
 for the good of all the good of many, eth it selfe profita-
 who stand in need thereof being wor- ble to verie many,
 thie, and to whom so they be worthy: so that worthie.
 they are more spe- *q* Lastly, let it bee *q* afterwards.
 cially bound. increased by *q* dis- *q* discretion.
 3. That it be increa- cretion, diligence
 sed by discretion, and *q* thrift; *q* and *q* sparing.
 diligence & thrift, let it not lie open *q* neither let it lie,
 & be readie alwaies rather to lust and or neither that it lie
 to be bestowed not riot, than to libera- open to, &c.
 on lust and riot, but lity and bountie.
 on liberalitie and *q* Hee that obser- *q* It is lawfull for a
 bountie. veth these precepts man observing
 Lastly, he declareth may live *q* roially, these precripts to
 the benefits of ob- gravely, and *q* magnifically, &c.
 serving these pre- *q* stoutly, and also *q* courageously or
 cepts; that a man plainly, faithfull- stoutly.
 may live royally, ly, and friendly,
 bravely and stoutly; *q* for the life of *q* to the life of men,
 and also honestly & man.
 profitably for the
 life of man.

Chap. 35.

*The fourth fountaine of dutie [is]
 Temperance: which
 Aristotle thinketh
 to be a moderation
 of q desires, [viz.]
 of those onely which
 are q employed a-
 bout the pleasures of
 the q gullet and of
 the groine. A tem-
 perate man (quoth
 hee) desireth those
 things which hee
 ought, and as hee
 ought, and when he
 ought. The q prin-
 cipall point hereof,
 is, that the desire
 obey reason, as the
 child [his] School-
 master. From thence
 ariseth that q de-
 corum, q which,
 how &c.*

q affections or lusts.
 q conversant or oc-
 cupied.
 q throte and parts
 about the secrets.
 q head.
 q comfinesse.
 q which Tully deli-
 vereth divinely,
 how &c.

how

how it is *q* derived *q* drawne.
from nature and o.
ther circumstances,
and *q* graceth every *q* honesty.
* *duie of life*, Tully * *action*.
sets downe diuinely.

Tully, comming to
I speak of the fourth
lountaine of Duty, *q* one other part of *q* that one part of
viz. temperance, honesty which re-honesty remaining.
which he calleth the
other part of honestie; sheweth first
mayneth, wherein
q bashfulnesse, and *q* shamefastnesse.
what parts it containeth under it: to
temperance, as it
were a certaine or-
nament *q* of mans *q* of life.
viz. bashfulnesse & life, & also of mo-
temperance, which destie, and all *q* ap- *q* quieting of the
he termeth to bee a peasing of the pas- perturbations.
speciall ornament of tions of the mind,
mans life: and with- and the measure of
al, modesty & calm- things, is scene.
nesse in appeasing
all passions of the
mind, and modera-
tion, in keeping a
measure in all
things: and finally
that comlineesse which
is called in Latine
In this place is *q* That [comlines]
contayned that is contained in this
[comlineesse] which place.
may bee called in
Latin *decorum*; for
it

it is called in Greeke
 Greek *τι σφαιρ.*
q force of this. The *q* nature here-
 of is, that it cannot
 bee separated from
 honestie: For both
 that which becom-
 meth is honest, &
 also that which is
 honest becom-
 meth. *q* But what
 difference there is of
 honestie and com-
 lineffe.
q more easily.
q understood.
q explained.
q it then appeareth.
q is.
 it is called in Greeke
τι σφαιρ.
 Secondly, he teach-
 eth the nature of
 this comlineffe to
 be such, as that it
 cannot be sepa-
 rated from hone-
 stie: because that
 which becometh is
 honest, and that
 which is honest be-
 commeth;
 But for the diffi-
 rence that is be-
 tween these two,
 viz. betweene ho-
 nestie and comli-
 nesse, that it may
 sooner bee concei-
 ved in our mindes
 than expressed in
 words; And that
 comlineffe doth
 then onely appeare
 when honestly hath
 gone before.

 Chap.

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Chap. 36.

Q Comelineſſe is q There is a double
double : generall, decorum.
which conſiſteth in
every dutie ; and
ſpeciall, which pro-
perty* followeth tem- * ariſeth of, or at-
perance. Saint Am- tendeth upon tem-
broſe taketh that perance.
to bee the generall
comelineſſe, which
q ariſeth of a q har- q is.
monie and q con- q agreement.
ſent of all vertues,
amongſt them-
ſelves, and ſhineth
brightly in the
q agreement of the q concord.
q whole frame of the q univerſal world.
world: the ſpeciall
[to be that] which
ſhineth in any one
part [thereof] but
eſpecially in Tem-
perance.

O There-

Therefore it appeareth what
 is *q* decent, not
 onely in this part
 of honesty, where-
 of *q* wee are to dis-
 course in his place,
 but also in the
 three former. *q* For
 [as] it is decent
q to use reason and
 speech discreetly,
 and to doe that
 which * you doe,
 considerately; and
 also both *q* to
 espie and maintain
 that which is true
 in every matter;
 [*q* so] contrarily,
q to erre, to slippe,
 to bee deceived,
 doth as much dis-
 grace, as to dote,
 and to be *q* distract
 in minde. All
 just

Here he, proceed-
 ing to handle this
 matter of comli-
 nesse, sheweth,
 1. How in a gene-
 rall manner it ap-
 pertaineth to everie
 part of honesty, viz.
 to everie of the o-
 ther three vertues
 as well as to tem-
 perance.
 And first, how it be-
 longeth to pru-
 dence, by a compa-
 rison.
 Because at it is de-
 cent to use reason &
 speech discreetly, &
 to doe whatsoever a
 man doth advised-
 ly, and withall both
 to espie & to main-
 taine onely that
 which is true in e-
 verie matter; so
 contrarily, to erre
 & to be deceived,
 doth as much dis-
 grace as to dote or
 to bee distracted in
 mind.

q becommeth.
q we must dispute.
q for both it be-
 commeth one.
q both.
 * a man should doe
 advisedly.
q to see and to de-
 fend in everie mat-
 ter that which is
 true.
q and.
q it doth as much
 disgrace to erre [or
 misse.]
q taken [or di-
 straught] in mind.

Secondly, how to just things also are justice: because all comely; and contrariwise, all unjust things are comely; & contrarily, all unjust things, as things, as they are they are dishonest, dishonest, so they so they are also uncomely. *q* The nature of valour is like hereunto. For *q* that which is don *q* what thing.

And thirdly, for valour: because that a great courage, which is done manfully and with a valiant courage is *q* seemeth meet *q* that seemeth. comely for a man; & comely: *q* and that *q* and what. contrarily, what which [is done] *q* otherwise. soever is done otherwise is dishonest and uncomely. is dishonest, even so it is uncomely. Whence hee concludeth this first point, that this comelinesse appertaineth to each part of honestie; & doth appertaine to all honestie; and that so, as it may be doth so appertaine [thereunto] that it is scene, not *q* after a certaine certaine hidden hidden sort. openly.

O 2 man-

q may be in readi-
nelle.

q thing that be-
commeth.
q understood.

q cogitation.
* in verie deed.
* comlineffe and
beautie.

q parted.

q speake.
q also it is indeed
confused or ming-
led.

q cogitation.
q And the.
q double.

manner, but *q* ap-
peareth openly.

For there is a cer-

tain *q* decencie, &
the same is *q* per-
ceiued in every
vertue: which may
be separated from
vertue rather by

q imagination,

than *indeed. For,

as *beautifulnes &

fairenesse of bodie

cannot be *q* sepa-

rated from health;

so this comelineffe

whereof wee *q* in-

treat, *q* is indeed

wholly mixed with

vertue, but is di-

stinguished in

[ones] mind and

q conceit. *q* More-

over, the descrip-

tion thereof is *q* of

two sorts. For

both wee *q* under-

stand

Yet so, as that it can
hardly be separated
from the severall
vertues themselves;
but that it is rather
distinguished, by
imagination and in
a mans conceit;
than indeed.

This he also illu-
strateth by a fir re-
semblance; That as
fairenesse of bodie
cannot be sepa-
rated from health;
so neither this com-
lineffe can be di-
stinguished from
vertue, but onely in
our mind and con-
ceit: because it is
so wholly mixed
therewith.

In the second place
he cometh to divide
this comlineffe, ma-
king it to be of two

sorts, viz. generall stand a certaine ge-
and speciall, & then nerall *q decorum*, *q* meane.
defineth them se- which *q* is in all *q* comlineffe.
verally.

honesty; and ano-
ther *q* under this, *q* is conversant or
which appertay- exercised or hath
neth to every se- to doe.
verall part of ho- *q* subject to this,
nesty. And that viz. a speciall com-
lineffe.

And first, for the
generall be sheweth
that it is wont to be
defined thus;

That it is such a
comlineffe as is a-
greeable to the ex-
cellencie of man in
all things; wherein
his nature differ-
reth from other li-
ving creatures.

former is wont *q* to *q* almost or for most
be commonly thus
defined; That, thus.

that is comely, *q* That thing to be
comly.

which is agreeable
to * the excellen- * mans excellency.
cie of man, *q* wher- *q* in which thing.
in his nature * dif- * is different.

fereth from other
living creatures.

q But they define *q* But which part is
that part which is subject unto the ge-
under the gene- nerall, they define
rall [viz. the spe- it thus, that,
ciall] in such sort,

The speciall comli-
nesse is that, which
is so agreeable to

that they will have
that to be comely,
which is so agree-

O 3 able

able to nature, as nature, as that both
 both moderation moderation & tem-
 & temperance may perance may ap-
 appeare in it, with peare in it, with a
 shew of honestie.

* comly apperance. a certaine * honest
 shew. [Now] wee

q thinke.

q these things to be
 so, or thus meant.

q understood.

may q conceive That the Philoso-
 q that these things phers did take these
 are so q meant things so, he pro-
 by the Philoso- veth it by the testi-
 phers, by that monie of the Poets
 comelineffe which in that comelineffe
 the Poets follow: which they follow:

concerning which

q moe things are
 wont to be, &c.

q more is wont to
 be spoken in ano-
 ther place.

q But then we say.

q But we say that
 Poets doe then ob-
 serve q that grace
 which becōmeth,
 when that which

q that which is de-
 cent.

is q fitting to e-
 very person, is both
 done and said.

q worthie or besit-
 ting every person.

As if *Eacus* or
Minos should say;

q Let

Of whom wee say,
 That they observe
 a right decorum ;
 whenas they bring
 in everie person
 both saying and do-
 ing that, which is
 fitting unto him.

And cōtrarily, that
 they should utterly
 misse this decorum
 (As for example) if
 they should bring
 in *Eacus* or *Minos*
 speaking

wickedly, it would be very absurd, because they were knowne to be just men: *q* Let them hate, *q* They shall hate: so that they feare. Or [this.]

The father himselfe is a grave to his children:

It should seeme uncomly, because wee have heard,

Whereas bringing In Atreus *q* that they were *q* them to have bin so speaking, it would just. But *Atreus* just. be verie comly and saying [so,] *q* it *q* applauses [or clapping of hands] are move a great applause, because he would cause a great stirred up. was a vile man. applause: for *q* it *q* the speech is Also the reason why is a speech belee- worthie the. they observe this ming the person.

decorum is, Be- But Poets will cause they judge by judge *q* by the per- *q* of the persons what is son, what *q* is com- *q* may become. comely for everie ly for every one. one.

Secondly, he declar- *q* Moreover, na- *q* And. eth it fro the work ture it selfe hath of nature it selfe: put upon us *q* a *q* a person with because it hath gi- personage of great great excellencie, ven man a perso- excellency & pre- & surmounting of nage of great excel- heminance, above other creatures, lencie & prehem- nence above all o- all other living crea- ther living crea- tures. tures.

- creatures. Wherefore Poets will
q see. *q* discern in great variety of persons,
 what is befitting e-
 * wicked sort. ven to the * vici-
 ous, and what be-
 commeth [them.]
q fettlede nesse. But sith that the
 parts of * constan-
 cie, moderation,
q shamefastnesse. temperance, and
 * modestie, are gi-
 ven [us] by nature,
 and seeing that the
 same nature tea-
q neglect. cheth us not to be
 * after what man- carelesse, * how we
 ner. *q* carrie. *q* behave our selves
q men. towards *q* every
 * it is brought to man; It commeth
 passe. to pass, that it both
 appeareth, how
 farre that comly-
 nesse, which apper-
 taines to all ho-
 nesty, *q* doth ex-
 tend
- Whence the Poets
 will, in great va-
 riety of persons, dis-
 cerne what is fit-
 ting and what un-
 fitting to each.
- And moreover, for
 that nature hath gi-
 ven us the severall
 parts of constancie,
 moderation, tem-
 perance and mode-
 stie, and teacheth
 us withall, that wee
 bee not carelesse
 how we behave our
 selves towards eve-
 ry man; it sheweth
 us likewise how far
 that generall com-
 linesse which apper-
 taineth to all hone-
 stie doth extend it
 selfe; and also that
 speciall comliness,

which is scene in tend it selfe, and
every severall also *q* this which *q* this comlineffe.
kinde of vertue. is scene in every

For the excellencie *q* fairenesse of the *q* beauty.
of this comlineffe body, with a fit
kept in everie action, and how it win- composing of *q* e- *q* the members or
neth the approbation of all, he illustrateth by a verie very part, doth limmes.
familiar and notable ensample. [them] *q* even in *q* in this same
thing.

That as the fairnesse this, that all the
of the bodie and parts consent to-
comlie proportion gether amongst
of every part moveth the eyes of others, and delighteth them with
the grace appearing therein; even so a comlineffe shining
in our life, winneth *q* winneth * the ap- *q* shineth out or
the good will and probatation of those bright.
liking of all with whom we live, *q* moveth.
by an order, *q* con- * the good liking.
serving order, *q* and.
constancie, & * mode- * measure.
moderation, in all our
words and deeds. words and deeds.

q There

q Therefore a certaine reverence is to be given.

q of every best [or chiefe] man.

* of the rest of meaner degree.

q for it is not onely [the part] of an arrogant man but also dissolute, to neglect what every one thinketh of him.

q retchlesse or out of all order.

q that differeth.

Al. in having a respect of men.

q shamefastnesse.

q The parts of justice are.

q not to wrong any by violence.

* to give offence to.
q force.

q There must be used therefore a certaine reverence towards men, both

q to every one of the best sort, and also * to others.

q For to bee retchlesse what every one thinketh of him, is not onely a signe of an arrogant body, but also of one altogether dissolute.

But there is *q* a certaine difference

q *Al.* in each respect to bee had, betweene justice &

q modestie. *q* It is the part of justice *q* to offer men no violence; of modestie, not

* to offend [them:] wherein the *q* nature

Also for the more full accomplishment of this comelinesse, he teacheth moreover that we must use

a certaine reverence towards all sorts, not onely them of higher ranke, but

also others of meaner degree. Because this will bring us a good estimation with all me Whereas contrarily to bee

retchlesse what ever one thinketh of us, is not onely a

signe of an arrogant body, but also of one altogether dissolute.

Lastly, to this purpose hee setteth downe a difference betweene justice & modesty.

That it is the part of justice not to offer violence to any; but of modesty, not to offend them; & that herein the nature

ture of comlinesse
is scene especially. *q* scene especially. *q* most thorowly.
And so endeth this These things there. scene.
point, what comli-
nesse is; as being fore thus declared,
plaine enough by I thinke it *q* suffici- *q* understood or
that which hath bin ently understood, plaine.
said. *q* what it is which *q* what a one that
we * say, to be- thing is.
come. * affirme to be
decent.

Chap. 37.

q Comlinesse is *q* Comlinesse to be.
according to nature.
& *q* availeth very *q* to availe.
much, both in all
* parts [of vertue] * kindes,
and especially in
Temperance.

q **M**oreover, *q* And the dutie
also the which is.
Chap. 37. dutie which *q* pro- *q* drawne from it.
In this chapter T. ceedeth from that
setteth downe the [comlinesse] * hath * followeth first.
efficacie of true co- first,

q agreeablenesse.

q goe awrie.

Al. And it both followeth that which is.

q sharpe, and quick sighted.

q is agreeable to the followship of men.

q vehement.

q force.

q is in this.

q are apt, or befitting nature.

first of all this way, which leadeth unto the *q* convenience and preservation of nature : thereunto: And that which if wee will follow as a guide, we shall never *q* erre. And wee shall *q* follow that which is both acute, and witty by nature, and that which *q* serveth fitly for the consociation of men, & also that which is *q* forceable & manly. But the greatest *q* efficacy of comlinessse, *q* standeth in this part whereof wee dispute. For not onely the morions of the body, which *q* agree unto nature, but
 linesse; that it leadeth unto the convenience and preservation of nature, being agreeable following nature, we cannot erre, but wee shall both follow that which is acute & wittie, viz. prudence; and that which serveth for the increase of humane societie, to wit justice; and likewise that which is truly valousous.
 So that he sheweth that there is a comlinessse in all these three parts of honestie; yet so, as that the greatest efficacy of it consisteth in this fourth part of honestie, to wit, in temperance. And that, because all motions not onely of

the body, but much more those of the mind, if they be agreeable to nature, are approved and liked of by all.

but much more the motions of the mind, which are likewise agreeable unto nature, are to be approved

Chap. 38.

The fountaine of all modesty is, that q to be. the appetite obey reason: q And Am- q But brose thinketh this same to be the q first q primary, or chiefe. fountaine of all duties.

Chap. 38.

Here Tully (about to set out the fountaine of all modestie and comelinesse, therein; to wit, that the appetite obey reason) teacheth first, That the motions of the mind which he spake of, are of two sorts: The one sort consisting in appetite, which appetite the

FOr the power of the mind & of nature q consisteth in two parts. The one part q consisteth in appetite, which in Greek is called

q is double, q is put or placed in appetite. q which is in Greek.

q snatcheth or ha-
leth.

q [consisteth] in
reason.

q fled.

q And.

q be without.

q he cannot give a
provable cause.

* almost the defini-
tion.

q effect [or bring
to passe this.]

called *opponit*, which
q pulleth a man
hither and thither.

The other q in rea-
son : which teach-
eth and sheweth
plainely what is to
be done or to bee
q avoided. So it

commeth to passe
that reason ruleth,
and appetite obey-
eth. q Moreover,

every action ought
to q bee free from
rashnesse and neg-
ligence : neither

indeed [ought a
man] to doe any
thing, whereof q he
is not able to ren-
der a probable

reason. For this is
* in a manner the
* description of
Dutie. Wee must

also looke to this,
that

Gracians call *opponit*,
which haleth a man
hither or thither.

The other sort con-
sisting in reason :
which reason teach-
eth and sheweth
plainly, what is to
bee done and what
to be avoided.

Whereupon it is
that reason is to
rule, appetite to
obey.

And thence he
sheweth that these
properties ought to
be in everie action :

1. That it bee free
from rashnesse and
negligence ; and
that so far, as that a
man ought never
to doe any thing
whereof bee is not
able to render a
probable reason.

For that this is al-
most the definition
of Dutie.

3. That our appetites or willes must neither run before reason through rashnesse, nor leave the following of it through sloth or cowardlinesse. that our "appetites" desires bee ruled obey reason, and by reason, neither runne before it *q* through *q* for. rashnesse, neither forsake it, through *q* leave it. sloath or *q* cowardlinesse, or lacke of courage. 3: That our desires and motions must bee quiet and free from all perturbations and passions of mind; and so thereby all constancie and moderation shall plainly appeare. Whereupon all constancy & *q* moderation shall plainly appeare. For, what *q* desires *q* appetites. *q* stray *q* overfarre, *q* goe too far astray. and as it were in- *q* further.

Then hee giveth sulking too much, this reason hereof: either in *q* longing *q* coveting. Because what desires or motions after [things] or flying [from them] stray over far from reason, or are too are not sufficient- ly staied by reason, these without doubt *q* passe their *q* passe over or ex- ceede. *q* bounds and mea- *q* bound. sure,

for sake.
 q cast away or set
 aside.

q Of which moti-
 ons.
 q the mindes are
 troubled, but also
 the bodies.
 even.
 in the verie faces.

q gesture, leap or
 skip.

q stations or beha-
 viours.

q that is under-
 stood.

q all appetites to be

sure: for they leave that they therein
 and q reject obedi- do not obey reason;
 ence, neither yet whereunto they
 obey reason, wher- ought to be subject
 unto they are sub- by the lawe of na-
 ject by the lawe of ture. And that
 nature. q Where- thence ariseth the
 by not onely q the disquieting not one-
 mindes, but also ly of the mindes,
 the bodies are dis- but of the bodies
 also.

quized. We may This he proveth by
 see the very faces experience; giving
 of angry [men,] instance in the sud-
 or of those who daine changes
 are moved by any wrought in men by
 lust or feare, or such unruly moti-
 ons and desires.

[who] q reioice with
 too great pleasure:
 all whose counte- How in angry men
 nances, voyces, and those who are
 motions, & q stan- vehemently moved
 dings are changed. through lust, feare
 or any tickling ioy,
 Of which q this their verie counte-
 is gathered (that nances, voyces, mo-
 tions and standings
 wee may returne are changed: Wher-
 to the forme of upon he concludeth,
 Dutie.) q that all that all our appe-

appe-

ites are ever to bee restrained & guided according to reason; and that wee must use all care & diligence, that wee never do any thing rashly or at adventure, nor inconsiderately & negligently.

And lastly, hee further declareth this even from nature itselfe: That wee are not bred by nature for play and sport; but rather to severitie & to great and weightie studies. And here he taketh occasion to shew the right manner of sports and play, how we may use them aright:

1. For the time; That wee use them as sleepe and other recreations, onely at such times, when

appetites are to be restrained and abated, and that wee must stirre up all care and diligence, that wee doe not any thing rashly and at adventure, [nor] inconsiderately, and negligently.

For we are not so bred of nature, that we should seeme to be made for play and for sport;

but rather to severiny, and to certaine more weighty and greater studies. And as for

play and jesting wee may indeed

use them, but even as [we use] sleep, and other recreations, at such

P time

drawne in, or pluckt in, allwaged, and all heed and diligence to be stirred up.

venturously or by chance, or unadvisedly,

for neither are

those [viz.] sport or jesting.

quests.

q then.

q satisfied. time when we have we have dispatched
 q dispatched [our] our weightie and
 weightie and ear- earnest busineses.
 nest busineses. Secondly, for the
 And the very man- manner of them;
 ner of [our] q sport That they bee not
 q jesting or pastime ought to be q nei- excessive or immo-
 q not immoderate. ther excessive, nor deest, but ingenuos
 * honest. This bee teacheth
 * merrie. by a comparison in
 an instance of that
 q give. q grant not to chil- libertie which wee
 dren all libertie of grant to children ;
 play, but such as is That as we grant
 of all manner of
 q stranger from the not q estranged play, but onely of
 actions of honestie. from honest exer- such playes & sports
 cises : so in our as are not estrang-
 very jesting there ed from honest ex-
 should appeare ercises; so likewise
 q let some light of q some light of an in all our owne
 an honest wk ap- honest disposition. jesting and sports;
 peare. some light of an
 honest disposition
 should over shewe
 it selfe.

Chap.

Chap. 29.

In this chapter T. proceedeth to discourse of jesting & of the manner and use thereof.

And first, he divideth it, teaching that there is a double kinde of jesting. One verie base, malepart, lewd and filthy; the other elegant, civil and pleasant. This later he commendeth by the testimony of Plautus, in his practice of it, and by other ancient comedies which are generally approved of; and more specially by the bookes of the Socratical Philosophers, which hee sheweth to bee full of it.

And to this kinde of jesting he teacheth that all wittie

Chap. 39.

*Of scurrility and
pleasantnesse of
speech.*

q pleasantnesse of q witty conceitednesse.

TO be short, there is a double kinde of jesting: one *q* base

q malepart, *q* lewd,

q filthy: the other

elegant, civill, witty,

[and] *q* pleasant.

With which kinde not only our

Plum, and the

ancient Comedy

of the *q* Athenians,

but also the books

of the *q* Socratical

Philosophers are

q full. There are

also *q* many witty

speeches of many

men, as those that

are men.

q There is altogether a double kinde &c.

q illiberall or

homely.

q saucy wanton.

q ungracious or

wicked.

q bawdy or dishonest.

q conceited.

q Atticks.

q Philosophers of

Socrates lect.

q well stored or full

fraught.

q many things spoken

pleasantly and

wittily of many

P 2

q short and witty sentences.

* of an honest and an dishonest jesting.

q dishonest [or base] is easie.

q befitting a free man.

q time.

q with a remission or a mild mind.

* if uncleanness of the matter, being increased with filthiness of words.

q things.

are gathered by speeches of learned olde *Cato*, which be called *q* Apothegmes. The difference there- *Cato* and others.

fore * of an ingenious & a *q* homely jest is plaine.

The one is *q* meet for an honest man if it bee done in

q season & *q* mildly: the other is not indeed meet for

[any] man, * if uncleanness of words bee adjoyned to the filthiness of the *q* matter.

men to appertaine; as namely those called Apothegmes, gathered by old

Thence he concludeth, that the difference between these two kindes, viz. betwene an ingenious and base jest, is plaine:

Also that the one of them, viz. an ingenious jest is befitting an honest man, especially if it bee done in season and mildly; but that the other, viz. a base jest, is not at all meet, no not for any man; chiefly, if base & odious matters be uttered, and made worse by base and filthy words.

Chap. 40.

Here Tully proceedeth to give directions likewise for our pastimes & recreations; teaching, 1. That there must bee a measure kept even. wherein, & that for two speciall causes.

The 1. whereof is: Left thereby wee should lavish our goods too excessively.

The second; lest being over carried with the pleasure of the recreation wee fall into some kinde of dishonesty.

Secondly hee directeth what exercises are most commendable and safe for avoiding these evils: as namely,

1. Exercises of feats of armes, such as were practised in Mars field at Rome
2. Hunting.

Chap. 40.

*q That a mea- q To be a certaine
sure must bee kept measure even of
even in honest pa- honest play.
stimes.*

T Here is also a certaine measure of *q* pastime to *q* playing or recreation.
be kept, that wee

doe not *q* lavish *q* poure out or spend
out all too excessive all to much.

sively; and being *q* over merry, slip *q* lift up with too
into some dishonest much pleasure, or
too merry.

stie. But both our
[Martiall] field, &
also the exercises
of hunting do *q* af- *q* minister unroua.
ford us honest ex-
amples of *q* pa- *q* playing.
stime.

P 3. Chap.

Chap. 41.

q required.
q studies.

* meet for beasts.

q added most sparingly.

q to every question of dutie.

q in readinesse.

* the nature of cattell.

q the beasts.

*The delight of the mind is to bee sought from honest exercises: the pleasure of the body, because it is * belonging to beasts, is either to bee rejected altogether, or to be used very sparingly.*

BUT it belongs to the whole discourse of Duty, to have evermore in mind, how farre the nature of man exceedeth * cattell and all other beasts. For q they perceive nothing but pleasure, and are carried there-

Chap. 41.

Here he sheweth the meanes how we may keep a measure in our play & sports. And this point he teacheth to belong to every question of Dutie. The first meanes is this; By having evermore in mind, how far the nature of man exceedeth the nature of beasts. Which he teacheth to appeare here in especially, for that they perceive nothing but pleasure, & are carried there-

unto with all violence: whereas contrarily the mind of man is nourished by learning, and is ever searching out some matter by meditating and devising or performing something of more worth; and is evermore led with a delight of seeing or bearing some great matter.

thereunto * with q with their whole all violence. But fway.

the mind of man * is nourished by * is fed with learning.

learning; and doth ever either * search * study out or inquire some matter.

out some matter by devising, or

doth perform something; and is led

with a delight of seeing and hearing.

Moreover, if there be any one * som-

what too much * a little more ready.

q inclined unto pleasures, so that

hee be not of the * kinde of beasts * beastly kinde.

(for q somewhere q there are certaine.

be [that are.] men not in deed, but

[onely] in name) but if there be any

somewhat q lesse q erect or lifted up

addicted to plea- from pleasure.

sure [than these,] al-

Secondly, for that if there be any one who is by nature more inclined to pleasure (if he be not a verie beast as some such beasts there are who are not men in deed but onely in name)

al-

Tullies Offices

- *carried, overtaken. *caught with pleasure, hee hideth & dissembleth his
 q appetite. q longing desire of
 *modesty or bashfulness. pleasure for shamefastnesse. Where-
 q it is understood. upon q we may observe, q that the
 q the pleasure, &c. to be. pleasure of the body is not * be-
 *befitting. seeming the excellency of man; q but
 q and that. that it ought to be despised and rejected. But if there
 q attributerh somewhat unto pleasure. q yeeldeth somewhat unto pleasure,
 [let him knowe]
 q the measure of enjoying it to be holden diligently of him. q he must very warily keepe a measure of enjoying thereof. And q for
 q therefore. that cause, q let the
 q the other, &c. diet and apparell
 must be, &c. of the body be referred
- although hee bee sometimes to violently carried after pleasures, yet for verie shame hee will hid and dissemble his overlonging desire after the same. Whereby he sheweth, that it is most evident, that verie nature teaches, that the pleasures of the bodie are not befitting the excellencie of man.
- A second meane to keep a measure in our pleasures, especially if wee be too much given thereto, is; So to moderate our diet and apparell, as that wee use them onely so, as they may bee best

for our health and strength, and not for voluptuousness. A third meanes is, by considering a right what an excellencie and dignitie there is in the nature of man: by the due meditation whereof, wee shall see plainly, how unbecoming it is for man to lavish out all riotously, & to live deliciously & wantonly; and contrarily, how comely it is to live frugally, continently, sagely and soberly.

ferred to health & strength, not to voluptuousnesse. *q* pleasure. *q* Moreover if *q* And also. wee will consider what an excellency and *Al.* dignity *Al.* dignitie of nature there is in the nature of man, wee shall understand how unbecoming it is to *overflowe *lavish out in riot in riot, and to live or run to riot. deliciously and *wantonly; and *nicely. how *q* comely a *q* honest thing it is to live *q* frugally, *cont- *q* sparingly. *q* temperately. *q* sagely (&) *q* severely or strictly. soberly.

Chap.

Chap. 42.

The Argument.

Reader, marke
the order : first
[Tully] sheweth in
this chapter] what
is comely according

* as it is common.

q [becommeth.]
* in regard of.

q the person [or
condition] of every
one either given,
&c.

* advice or consi-
deration.

to nature * common
with beasts : and
then, what q * ac-
cording to the ex-
cellency of man : af-
terward, what be-
commeth q every
ones person, either
given by nature, or
imposed by chance,
or assumed with
* judgement.

Chap. 43.

Tully (still going
on to set out more
fully the nature of
comlinesse, and the
fountaine thereof)

q Also we must un-
derstand.

* have on us as it
were [or sustaine]
two persons,

q **W**E must
further
understand, that
we * are as it were
cloa-

That everie one cloathed by nature
 hath by nature, as with two persons: * estates or condi-
 it were two persons. whereof one is tions.
 The one of them common, q there- * of that.
 common; which is common, q there- * of that.
 in that wee are all upon, because wee
 partakers of reason are all partakers
 and of that excell- of reason, and of
 leny whereby we that * excellency, * preheminance or
 surmount brute whereby we q sur- dignitie.
 beasts: & from this mount beasts: from q excell.
 hee it eweth that which all honesty
 both all honestie & and comeliness is
 comeliness are deri- q deriv'd: and out q drawne.
 ved, and the way of finding out Dutie.
 The other proper: of wch the way of
 to wit, that which is finding out of Du-
 properly assigned tie is sought out.
 to everie one in re- q And the other q But.
 gard of the speciall [is that] which is
 constitution both properly q assigned q attributed,
 of his bodie and to every one. For
 mind, and therein as there bee great
 the speciall differ- q differences in bo- q dissimilitudes.
 ces amongst men. dies, (for wee see
 This hee noteth by q differences in bo- q dissimilitudes.
 experience, dies, (for wee see
 1. In the bodies, some to q surpass q prevaile or excell.
 for that we see som others in swiftnesse
 to excell in swiftnesse for q running, * or q to run.
 nesse for running, thers in strength * some.
 others in strength q for

q to wraſtle.

q formes, ſhapes
or faces.

q dignitie to be in
ſome, comelineſſe
in others.

* differences.

q the ſonne of Lu-
cius.

q But.

q in the ſame times.

q there was a ſingu-
lar feveritie in, &c.

q much mirth in
Caius Lelius.

q in Scipio his fa-
miliar.

q for wraſtling; & for wraſtling, ſome
likewiſe in q coun- having in their
tenances, q that ſome countenances a ma-
have a majeſty, o- jeſty, others being
thers amiableneſſe: amiable.

ſo there are in 2. By experience in
mindeſ alſo grea- the mindeſ, & that
ter * varietieſ. therein alſo are
greater varietieſ &
differences.

There was in Lu- This he proveth by
cius *Cratſtus* and ſundry particular
Lucius Philippus examples, and fiſt,
much pleaſantneſſe; amongſt them-
ſelveſ: as,

but greater and That there was
more of ſet pur- much pleaſantneſſe
poſe, in *Caius Ce- of ſpeech in L. Phi-
ſar* q *Lucius* his lippus, but greater
ſonne. q And q at and more of ſet
the ſame time, purpoſe in C. *Cæſar*
L. his ſonne.

q there was in Likewise at the
Marcus Scaurus, ſame time, that
and *Marcus Dru- there was in M.
ſus* being a young Drulius, though but
man, a ſingular a young man, a ſin-
gravitie; q in *Cai- gular gravity; much
us Lelius* much mirth in Caius Le-
mirth, q in his fa- lius; In Scipio his
miliar friend *Scipio* familiar friend
greater ambit on
greater ritie. with more auſte-

greater *ambiti- *more seeking of
on, *a sadder life. honour.

Secondly, amongst Also among the *more sorrowfull
the Grecians, as he Grecians wee have or full of discon-
had heard by re- heard of *Socrates*, tent, or austere.

port ; As that So- to have been sweet
crates was sweet & & pleasantly con-
pleasantly concei- ceited, and of a
ted, and also of a merry *q* discourse, *q* speech.

Eironist in all his and also [to have
speech, beene] an *q* **Eiron* *q* dissembler.
nist in alhis speech, *a pleasant slan-
whom the Greci- teror jiber.

Contrarily, that Pi- contrariwise *Pittha-*
thagoras and Peri- *goras* and *Pericles*
cles were of greater to have attained

esteeme, yet with- *q* very great esti- *q* the highest autho-
out any mirth at al- mation, without a- rixie.

ny mirth at all.

Wee have heard

* So amongst great of *Hanniball*, *q* of *q* of [the Captains]
Captaines : as, that the nation of the of the Carthagini-
Hanniball of Car- Carthaginians, to ans.

thage was very sub- have been *q* sub- *q* crafty.

tle ; *Q. Maximus* one of their owne tle ; *Quintus Max-*
Captaines, very cu- *imus* of our Cap-
taines,

greasly to conceale,
holde his peace, dis-
semble, trap, pre-
vent the counsels
of the enemies.

taines *q* to have
beene very cun-
ning in concealing
matters, in silence,
dissimulation, plot-

ning in concealing
his purposes, dissi-
mulation, plotting
and preventing the
devices of the ene-
mie.

ting, preventing
the devices of ene-
mies. In which

kinde the Greekes
preferre *Themisto-*
cles the Athenian,
and *Iaso* the Phe-
rean before all o-
ther; and especi-
ally the subtille and
crafty deed of *So-*

And that among
the Grecians, *The-*
mistocles the Athe-
nian Capitaine, and
Iaso the Pherean
are renowned for
the like.

q who fained him-
selfe to be mad, to
the end his life
might, &c.

lon: *q* who to the
end that his life
might be the safer,
and that he might

Finally, that Solon
the lawgiuer is fa-
mours for policy; &
namely in that act,
wherein to the end,
that his life might
both be safer, and
he do the better ser-
vice to the comon-
weale, he fained
himselfe mad.

* do better service
to the comon-
wealth. |

Al. sometime or in
time to come.

* *Al.* somewhat more
further the Com-
mon-wealth, fay-
ned himselfe to be
mad. There be

Sundry other ex-
amples hee brings

others much un-
like to these; plaine
and

to this purpose not and open : which
 unlike to the former, to shew the
 great varietie of thing ought to be
 dispositions amongst done secretly, no-
 men. thing by guile, be-
 ing lovers of truth,
 some plaine and enemies of deceit.
 open hearted, And againe there
 enemies to all deceipt: be others, who can
 endure any thing,

Others who can in- doe service to any
 dure any thing, man, so that they
 serve any man, so may obtaine what
 they may obtaine they * desire : as * aimeat.
 their desire : as Syl-
 la, M. Crassus, and we saw *Sylla* and
 Lyfander the Lacedemonian; though *Marcus Crassus*.
 Callicratides, who In which kinde we
 succeeded Lyfander have heard of *Ly-*
 in the admiralty of *fander* the Lacede-
 the navie, was of a monian to have
 contrarie disposi- beene most suble
 tion, and q most able to q most patient.
 endure any thing;
 and contrariwise
Callicratides, who
 was Admirall of
 the Navy next af-
 ter

q we see another
man to effect by
[his] speeches.
* of great autho-
ritie.

q of many.

* observed.

q in the sonne.

q the same thing
to have bin.

q his father, even
him.

ter *Lysander*. And Others excellling in
likewise q in speech curtesie of speech,
wee see indeed a and in affabilitie; so
nother man, al as though they
though liebe * ve were verie great
ry mighty, yet so men, yet could
to order the mat- frame themselves
ter, that he may to the common sort
seeme to be [but] so, as to winne the
they had seene in
one q of the com- the Catuli both in
mon sort. Which the father and the
thing we have * seen sonne, and also Q
both in *Catulus* Mutius Mancinus.
the father, & q the
sonne, and also in
Quintus Mutius
Mancinus. I have
heard also of The like hee show-
[mine] ancestors, eth to have bin re-
q that the same was ported of P. Scipio
in *Publius Scipio* Nasica, to his fa-
Nasica; And con- ther, otherwise a
trarily q that his worthie man (as
father, even who who avenged the
avenged the mis- mischievous enter-
chievous enterpri- prices of Tiberius
ses of *Tiberius* Grachus) yet had
speech at all.

Grac-

No nor Xenocrates who was the verie sagest of all the Philo-
sophers, and for that
cause a great and famous man.

And thus hee shew-
eth that there are
innumerable diver-
sities of natures &
dispositions; yet
not to be disp. aised.

Now in these seve-
rall varieties and all
other hee giveth
this rule;

That everie ones
owne proper gifts
are carefully to bee
maintained, though
not any such quali-
ties as are vicious,
yet all such gifts as
are naturall, and
whereby that com-
lineffe which wee
seeke may be retai-
ned more easily.

chus, q had no af- q to have had no
sability of speech: gentle [or courte-
ous] manner of
no nor indeed ous] manner of
Xenocrates q who speech, or no plea-
was the sagest of q being the most
all the Philoso- severe of the Philo-
phers, and for that sophers.
very cause q both q to have bin both,
great and famous. &c.

Innumerable other
diversities there be
of nature and man-
ners, yet not at
all to bee disprai-
sed. But every

mans owne q [gifts] q things.
are q carefully to be q verie greatly to
maintained; [tho] be defended.

not such as
are * vicious, q yet
those which are
naturall, whereby
that comlineffe
which we doe seek
may bee more ea-
sily retained. For
we must so deale,

Q that

that wee contend And so long as wee
 not at all against strive not against
 q the universall na- q that nature which that nature which
 ture or belonging is universall : yet is universall, that
 to all. that being preserved, let us every our owne proper
 one follow our nature. Whence he teach-
 owne proper na- eth this as a second
 ture ; [So] that al- lesson ; That al-
 though there bee though there bee be other graver &
 q other graver and better studies to be
 better studies, yet followed of us, yet
 q wee measure our that we are to mea-
 owne by the rule sure & limit our stu-
 of nature. For nei- dies by the rule of
 ther q is it to any nature, to doe no-
 purpose to fight thing against it.
 against Nature, nor Because it doth not
 to q ensue any avails to fight a-
 thing which you gainst nature ; or to
 cannot attaine. pursue any thing,
 which we have no
 hope by nature to
 attaine.

Whereupon it
 more appeareth
 q of what sort. q what manner of
 thing this comeli- And that hereup-
 nesse is : sith that on it appeareth
 nothing becom- more fully wherein
 sisteth ; that we do
 meth

nor any thing, as it were against nature; but onely that whereto we are fitted by it.

Because, if wee ever follow nature, wee shall be able to keep an even and a constant course, both of our whole life, & of everie action; than which there is nothing more comely: whereas if wee imitate the nature of other men omitting our owne, wee cannot keep that evennesse which we ought.

This hee maketh plaine by a certaine similitude:

That as wee are to use that speech onely, which is knowne unto us, lest chopping in Greeke or other strange words (as some do) we be worthily scoffed at;

meth, *q* maugre *q* Minerva, as they use to say: that is, nature withstanding and resisting.

q And verely, if there be any thing comely, certainly there is nothing more, than an even and constant course of our whole life: and of every action: which you cannot keep, if you imitate the nature of other men, [and]

omit your owne. For as wee ought to use that speech which is knowne unto us, lest chopping in [certaine] Greeke words, as some [use to doe] wee bee worthily

q Minerva the Goddess of wisdom and all good sciences being unwilling.

against nature. If there be any thing at all.

evennesse.

carriage. and also.

follow.

let passe.

kind of speech.

q inculcating, thrusting in or beating upon, or repeating now and then.

Q 2 scot-

q mocked or
laughed at by verie
good right.

q so we ought to
bring no disagree-
ment [or variance]
into our actions
and all our life.

q force.

q to procure death
to himselfe, *viz.* to
kill himselfe.

* quarrell.

* for M. Cato was
not in one quarrell,
the rest in ano-
ther &c.

q given [or impu-
ted] for a fault [or
a reproach] to the
rest.

q killed.

q scoffed at : *q* so wee are to keep
wee should shew an evennesse in all
no contrariety in our actions and our
our doings, or in whole life, that no
our whole life. contrarietie appear
at all.

And this diffe-
rence of natures
hath so great

q power, that some
times one man

ought *q* to procure
his owne death,

another ought not,
in the same * cause.

* For was *Marcus*

Cato in one *q* quar-

rell, the rest, which

yeelded themselves

to *Cesar* in Africk,

in another ? Yet

peradventure it

had beene *q* ac-

counted for a fault

in the rest, if they

had *q* slaine them-

selves, because

their life had been

* more

Again, he teacheth
that the differences
of natures are of so

great power, that

may bee commen-
dable in one, which
should bee faulty in
another.

As for example :

that one man ought

to lay violent

hands upon him-

selfe, which should

be reproveable in

others in the same

cause.

This he instanceth

in M. Cato slaying

himself, rather than

to yeeld up himself

to *Cesar* in Africke

as others did, where-

as it had bin faultie

in the rest of them,

to have done the

like, because their

* more

lives had bin more

pleasant, and their * more pleasant, & * lesse austere.
 māners more mild: their māners more
 yet in him it is cō- qmilde. But when- qeasie.
 mended, for that he was of such an un- as Nature had gi-
 credible gravitie ven unto Cato an
 by nature, and had incredible gravity;
 confirmed the same and himselfe had
 by perpetuall con- q confirmed the qstrengthened.
 stancie, & also had same by a perpetu-
 ever remained in this determinate all constancy, and
 resolution, that hee would rather die, ever remained in
 then behold the his q intent and q purpose & coun-
 tyrants face. determined pur- sell taken to die ra-
 2 In comparing pose, he ought ra- ther, than that the
 the faults of Vlysses rather to die than face of the tyrant
 and Ajax together: behold the tyrants was to be looked
 That whereas this face.
 was an honour to face.
 Vlysses, to have in- How many things
 dured the things q endured Vlysses q suffered.
 which he did, in his in that q long tra- q long continued
 long travels, & that vell, when he both wandering.
 he had beene able q did service unto q served or became
 to yeeld himselfe to women (if Circe serviceable;
 do service to wo- and Calipso are to
 men, as to Circe & be named women)
 Calipso, (if they & desired to shew
 were worthie to be
 named women) & himselfe * affable * faire spoken.
 to shew himselfe so
 affable & curteous

Q3 and

- and courteous to all ; yea after his
all men, in all his returne home, so to
speech ? and also indure the contu-
mely of slaves and
wenches, to the end
that hee might at-
taine to that which
he desired : yet con-
trarily this is Ajax
his honour, that he
being of an uncon-
querable courage
by nature, had ra-
ther die a thousand
deaths, than to en-
dure such contume-
lies or injuries from
any.
- q* indured the spite-
full taunts of, &c. at
home.
* reproachfull or
biterefull speeches.
q servants & hand-
maids or wenches.
* once.
q with what courage
he is reported.
- * rimes.
- q* which things wee
beholding.
- q* meet.
* what gifts.
- q* neither to be desi-
rous to trie.
- q* at home endu-
red the * contume-
lies of *q* slaves and
girdles ; that hee
might * at length
attaine to that
which he desired.
But *Ajax* (*q* being
of that courage
which is reported)
had rather die a
thousand * deaths,
than to endure
those things of a-
nother man.
- q* Which diversifi-
ties when wee be-
hold, it shall bee
q necessarie to
weigh, * what each-
one hath of his
owne, and to or-
der those aright ;
q and not to have
a desire
- Hence hee conclu-
deth, that we are ne-
cessarily to weigh
what gifts each of
us hath properly, &
to use the same a-
right ; and not to

have a desire to trie a desire to try, how
 how other mens *q* others mens gra- q other mens things
 gifts would become ces would become may becom.
 us : because that e- him. * For that * for every ones
 specially becometh especially becom- proper gifts do
 everie one, which meth each man, most of all becom
 most properly be- which is * most of
 longeth unto him. all *q* every ones *q* the owne of ever.
 And secondly, hee owne. *q* Let every one.
 adviseth each man to knowe his owne *q* Therefore let, &c.
 disposition, and to man therefore
 shew himself a knowe his owne
 sharp judge of his disposition : and
 owne vertues and let him * shew him- * make.
 vices ; and so to selfe a sharp judge
 chuse and follow both of his owne
 that course which both of his owne
 is fittest for him. vices, & *q* vertues ; *q* good things.
 This also he urgeth left *q* Players may *q* Players in come-
 by a reason taken seem to have more dies & enterludes.
 from Players ; Left *q* discretion than *q* wisdom.
 they should seeme we. For they chuse
 to have more dis- not the best *q* en- *q* comedies.
 cretion herein than terludes, but the
 wee. fittest for them-
 Because they chuse selves. They that
 not the best inter- * relie upon their
 ludes to act, but * enjoy [or delight
 those that are fittest in] their voice, viz.
 for them, in regard who have excellent
 of their pronuntia- chuse *Epigonus* and voices.

Medea.

- Medea.* They tion, or gesture, and
 [who relie upon which they can per-
 their] gesture, forme the best ; as
q chuse. *q* [take] *Menalippa*, hee sheweth in fun-
 or *Clitemnestra*. drie particulars :
- Rutilus*, whom I
 remember, ever
q chused. *q* [made choyce
 of] *Antiope* : *Esop* Whence hee infer-
q not often. *q* very seldome reth againe what an
 [chused] *Aiax*. absurd thing this
 Shall a player then is, that a player
 see this in the stage, should see that on
 which a wise man the stage, which a
 shall not see in his wise man cannot in
 his life? *q* we are ther-
 fore *q* to labour es-
q Therefore unto pecially in those
 what things wee things, whereunto
 shall be most, &c. wee shall bee most
q we shall labour apt. But if at any
 chiefly in those. time necessitie shall
- q* thrust us forth or *q* inforce us unto
 erive us. those things, which
q of our wit. shall not bee *q* fit
 for our disposition,
q all care, meditati- *q* wee must use all
 care
- And so shutteth
 up this point, That
 we are chiefly to la-
 bor in those things
 whereunto wee are
 most apt.
 Yet here he giveth
 two cautions.
 1. That if at any
 time necessitie shall
 inforce us unto
 those things to w^{ch}
 we are not apt by
 nature; that then we
 specially use all care,

meditation and diligence, that we may performe them, if not comlyly, yet with as little uncomlineffe as may be.

care, meditation & on and diligence is to be given.
diligence, that wee may q performe q doe.
them, if not comlyly, yet q with as qas little uncomlyly.
little u comlineffe

3. That we do not so much indavour to attaine the vertues to which wee have no aprnesse by nature; as to shun those vices to which wee are by nature strongly inclined,

[as may be.] Neither ought wee so much to endavour our selves q to q that we may follow the vertues low.
which are not given unto us, as q to q that we may flye the vices.

Chap. 43.

The Argument.

Comelineffe from those things, which fortune hath given us, or which wee have q gotten by [our q gotten to our owne] q discretion. selves.
q More- q judgement.

q And there is a
third person adjoy-
ned unto those two,
&c.

q above.

q putteth or calleth
on us.

q fashion or frame.

q judgement.

q nobilities.

q wealth.

q being placed in
fortune [or in the
power or fortune.]
q are governed by
the times.

q will.

* what calling we
will follow.

q will.

q **M**oreover,
unto those two persons
which I spake of
q before, a third
person is adjoyned
which some chace
or time q imposeth
[on us] And also
a fourth which we
shall q fit unto our
selves after our
owne q mind. For
Kingdomes, em-
pires, q nobility,
honours, riches,
q power, and those
which are contrary
to these, q confi-
sting on fortune,
q are ordered ac-
cording to the
times. But it pro-
ceedeth from our
owne q free will
* what person wee
q list to beare.

Chap. 43.

In this chapter
Tully reacheth, that
besides those two
persons spoken of
before, which eve-
rie one hath by na-
ture, we have other
two also.

The first whereof is
that which everie
one hath imposed
upon him, by some
chance, or in regard
of the times: as to
bee Kings, Empe-
rours, nobles, hono-
rable, rich, mightie
and the like, or such
as are contrarie to
these, which as they
cassit in fortune, so
are they ordered ac-
cording to the times
The later is that
which we fit unto
our selves, accor-
ding to our judge-
ment applying our
selves thereunto;
for that it procee-
deth from our owne
will, what course of
life we will follow.

Hence are the di-
vers studies of
men; that some ap-
plie themselves to
Philosophie, others
to the civill lawe,
others to elo-
quence, and that
one chuseth to
excell in some one
of these vertues,
another in another.

And therefore som
apply themselves
unto Philosophy,
others the Civill
law, others elo-
quence: and *q* som
one chuseth to ex-
cell in one of those
vertues, [another
in another.] * But

q another or some
had rather.

whose fathers or
ancestours *q* have
beene famous in
any kinde of glo-

q have excelled or
bin notable in any
commendation.

More specially, that
those whose fathers
or ancestours have
bin famous for any
kind of glorie, doe
for most part studie
to excell in the
same: as *Q* Muti-
us Publ. his sonne
in chivalrie.

ry, * most of theirs
doe study to excell
in the same kinde
of *q* cōmendation:
as *Quintus Musi-*
us q *Publius* his
sonne [did] in the
Civill lawe: *Afri-*

* theirs for the most
part.

cannus q *Paulus* his
sonne, *q* in chival-
rie. Also *q* divers
doe adde some *q* of
their owne unto
those

q the son of Paulus.
q militarie businesse
or feats of armes.
q certaine or sundry.
q some their owne.

Hence also it is that
sundry increase the

* auncelors.

q Timotheus Conons sonne did.
* whereas.

q then his father.
q the praise.
* added.

q cometh to pass.
q the imitation of
parents being omitted or let passe.

q trade or determination.

those praises, w^{ch} glorie of their auncelors : as hee instanceth in Affricanus that hee increased his martiall glory by his eloquence ; and in Timotheus Conons sonne who by his wit and learning augmented the renowne which hee had received from his auncelors by their martiall praises.

q did also *Timotheus Conons* sonne : who * whenas hee was not inferiour q to his father in q praises of warre, yet * adjoynd unto that commendation the glory of learning & wit. Sometimes also it q falleth out, that certaine q having omitted the imitation of their parents, follow some q course of their owne ; and those espe-

And moreover, that certaine leaving the imitation of their parents follow some course of their owne, and especially they

who borne of ob-
scure parents, yet
propound unto
themselves great
matters.

especially travell
therein for most
part, who being
borne of *q* obscure
parents, * pro-
pound unto them-
selves great * mat-
ters. Therefore

q scarce knowne or
base.
* appoint to at-
tempt.
* enterprises.

And thus he con-
cludeth, that when
wee seeke what is
comely, we ought
to think of all these
things.

when we seek
what things *q* are *q* do become.
comely, we ought
to *q* cast all these in *q* comprehend.
our mind and *q* co- *q* thought.
gitation.

Chap. 44.

*Wee must deter-
mine the kinde and
q course of our life. q purpose or ap-
pointment*

Chap. 44.

Here T. procee-
deth to teach, how
to determine of the
course of our life,

BUT first of all
wee must de-
termine whom and
what manner of
men

* be.

q in.

* consultation or
advice.

q youth which is
from 12. or 14. to
25. or 30.

q to which the
greatest weaknesse
of counsell is.

q most slendernesse.
q determineth.

q passing his age
or living.

q he hath loved
most of all.

q then.

q could.

q that Prodicus
saith.

q Hercules.

men wee would
* have our selves,
and q of what kind
of life: Which * de-

liberation is the
hardest of all o-
ther. For in the
entrance into the
q youthfull time,
q wherein there is
the greatest weak-
nesse of counsell;
then every man
q appointeth unto
himselfe that kind
of q life, which he
q chiefly liketh.

And therefore hee
is entangled with
some certaine kind
and course of li-
ving, before q that
hee q bee able to
judge, what should
be best. For q where-
as Prodicus saith,
q that Hercules (as
it ever Hercules (as

which everie one is
to follow as most fit
for him.

And first he sheweth
that this delibera-
tion is exceeding
hard in regard of
the time, when men
are to determine
hereof.

Because they are to
resolve of it in the
verie entrance in-
to their youthfull
age; at what time
they are at the wea-
kest for counsell &
judgement to deter-
mine aright; and so
each followeth that
which he liketh or
fancieth to himself
without any ground-
ed reason. Where-
upon it commeth
to passe that they
have intangled the-
selves with some
certaine course of
life, before they are
able to judge what
were the best:

And that howso-
ever Hercules (as

Xenophon reporteth) at this age of youth, when he began to come to mans estate, going into a desert place, and there beholding two waies, the one the way of pleasure, the other of vertue, and after long deliberating with himselfe whether of them he should take, made choice of the better; viz. the way of vertue:

it is in *Xenophon*) so soone as he began to come to mans estate, (which time is granted by nature, to chuse what way of livinge- q course or trade of life each will follow. q went forth into a desert place, q to have gone forth. q and sitting there, q solitarie place or wilderness. q long and much with himselfe. q long and much with himselfe. much, when he beheld two waies, the one of pleasure, the other of vertue, whether of them it q were better to q should be. enter into.

Yet this, hee thinketh might befall to Hercules being sprung of the seed of Iupiter, & so of a divine understanding and judgement; but that there is not any hope that any of us should make such a choice. This peradventure might hap- * fall out. pen unto *Hercules* being q borne q bred of the seede of *Iupiters* seed; of Iupiter. but not so to us, who

- who imitate who it seemeth best to
q every one; and are *allured.
q determination.
 * instructed.
q we are led or doe incline.
 * customes.
q manner.
 * after the.
q most wish for.
q fairest.
q Some notwithstanding have followed a right course of life, whether by, &c.
1. Because wee use rashly to imitate whomsoever wee like best of, and so follow their studies and fashions.
 2. For that we being for most part trained up by the precepts and advice of our parents, are drawne unto a liking of their guile & manners.
 Or thirdly, for that we use to be carried by the judgement of the multitude, & so to long after those things which the greatest part do most admire.
 Yet notwithstanding how hard soever it is, he acknowledgeth that some indeed have followed a right course of life, whether a certaine happinesse betiding them, or the goodnes of their natures, or through parents, the right instituti-

on of their parents. parents, have fol-
 But for this kinde lowed the right
 of men who chuse course of life. ¶ But ¶ But that is the
 so, he noteth that that kinde of men most rare kinde of
 they are verie sel- is most seldome those men.
 dome to be found, which (if they be found, who be-
 of profound wits, of ing * adorned ei * indured.
 excellent learning ther wich excel-
 and knowledge) will lent ¶ profoundnes ¶ greatnesse.
 take a due time for of wit, or else with
 deliberating here- famous learning &
 of, what course to knowledge, or
 chuse. with both of them,
 have ¶ yet taken ¶ also.
 a time of ¶ delibe- ¶ advising.
 ration, what course
 of life they would
 especially follow.
 In which delibera-

Thus having shew- tion, ¶ all a mans ¶ the whole coun-
 ed the difficultie of counsell is to bee sell or advice,
 his deliberation, he ¶ applied to each ¶ recalled.
 now commeth to mans ¶ proper na- ¶ owne.
 set downe the right ture. For sith that
 manner of it; that ¶ in all things that ¶ we search out in
 we ought chiefly to ¶ are done, we search all things, &c.
 consider to what we out of that ¶ na- ¶ manner.
 are most fit by na-
 ture.

R ture

* wherto everie one
is naturally incli-
ned.

qbecometh.

q a greater care by
much of that mat-
ter is to bee added,
in determining our
whole life.

qbeconstant to our
selves in the conti-
nuance of our life,
nor to halt in any
dutie.

q force.

* consideration.

q kinde.

q nature is.

ture, * wherewith
every one is borne
(as is said before)

what q is comely;
then q a farre grea-
ter care thereof
must be had in set-
ting downe the
whole course of
our life; that wee

may q ever agree
with our selves in
all our whole life,
and never halt in
any dutie. But se-

ing that Nature
hath the greatest
q power unto this
choice, [and] For-
tune the next;
there must ever be
had a * regard of
both of them in
chusing the q course
of our life, but of
Nature more. For
q it is both much
q more

Because sith that we
seeke in everything
particularly, what
is comely, by do-
ing it according to
nature; then much
more care ought
we to have hereof
in determining the
whole course of
our life; and that
chiefly to this end,
that we may ever a-
gree with our selves
in all our whole
life, and never halt
in any dutie.

And whereas, next
unto nature, for-
tune hath the grea-
test power for
making this choice,
he teacheth that
we are to have a
regard even of for-
tune also therein;
but yet of nature
more. For that it
is more firme and
constant, than for-

tune in so much as * more firme and * surer.
 fortune some- * constant : In so * stable.
 times, as being much, that some-
 mortall may seeme times fortune, as
 to fight with nature being q mortall, q it selfe mortall or
 as being immortall. q with nature being q immortall nature.
 immortall. Hee

In the third place he teacheth, that a therefore that will
 man thus applying apply q his whole q all counsell, or the
 the whole course of course to the kind whole course of his
 his life to the kinde of his nature not life.
 of his nature uncor- corrupted, let him
 rupted, ought to be keep q constan- q stedfastnesse.
 constant in it. cy ; For that be-
 commeth chiefly :

Because constancie principally becom- except peradven-
 meth a man, unlesse ture hee shall per-
 he shall afterwards ceive that q he hath q himselfe have
 perceive that hee erred in chusing erred.
 hath erred in his * the kind of [his] * his course of life.
 choice : which if it life. Which if it
 happen (as he shew- shall fall out (q as q and it may fall
 eth it may well) he indeed it may) out.
 directeth what is to be don, viz. that he there must bee
 must then make made a change of
 a change of his manners and pur-
 course & purposes.

R 2 poses.

* may.

poses. We* shall And for the manner
make that change of effecting hereof,
more easily and that if the times
commodiously, if serve and fit there-
the times shall to, it may then be
made more easily &
q further us ; but commodiously: but
if not, it must be if not, it is to bee
done q leasurely, & made more leasure-
ly, and as by little
by little and little : and little.

q helpe.

q by little and little
and foot by foot, or
faire and softly.

like as wise men do
judge it to be more
q convenient, to
q breake off by lit-
tle and little, those
friendships, which
doe not so much

q comaly or decent.
q unsowe or unflitch
or rip a sunder as it
were flitch by
flitch.

delight us, and are Who thinke it more
lesse approved of convenient to
us, than to cut them break off with them
off, q of a sudden. by little and little,
than to cut them
off, of a sudden :

q suddenly.

q and the kinde of
our life being chan-
ged, we must care
by all reason,

q And when we
have changed our
course of life, wee
must by all means
take heed, that we
be thought to have
done it upon good
q advice, advice.

And for the manner
of effecting hereof,
that if the times
serve and fit there-
to, it may then be
made more easily &
commodiously: but
if not, it is to bee
made more leasure-
ly, and as by little
and little.
And that we are to
doe herein as wise
men in breaking off
their friendship
with such as they
would faine be shur
of.

Who thinke it more
convenient to
break off with them
by little and little,
than to cut them
off, of a sudden :
And yet ever to ob-
serve this caution
in our change, That
when we have thus
changed, wee may
bee thought to have
done it upon good
advice.

Here also he giveth *q* advice. But for *q* counsell.
 two other cautions *asmuch as q* wee *q* it is said.
 concerning the said, a little be-
 imitation of our fa- fore, *q* that wee *q* our ancestors to
 thers or ancestours must * imitate our be imitated.
 in our courses of ancestours : let * follow.
 life, spoken of be-
 fore.

1. That we beware
 that we do not imi-
 tate their vices.

q this first be ex-*q* that.
 cepted, that their

Vices *q* are not to *q* be not.

be imitated. * And * next, that we seek

then if Nature will not to follow them

nor beare, that *q* we in things against

can imitate cer- *q* they can. our natu.e.

taine things ; as

q the elder *Affrica-* *q* the sonne of the

nus sonne, who a- elder *Affricanus*.

dopted *q* this our *q* this son to *Paul-*

Paulus his sonne, *lus* *Emilius*.

could nor, for his

q sicknesse, be so *q* infirmie of his

like unto his fa- health.

ther, as the * other * other *Affricanus*

q was his : If there- sonne.

fore one be not a- *q* was like his fa-
 ther.

ble, either to * de- * plead.

fend causes, or * to * to make orations

retaine the people or speeches to the

people.

R 3 with

2. If through na-
 ture, or any other
 impediment, wee
 cannot imitate cer-
 taine things which
 were commendable
 in them, like as he
 instanceth in the el-
 der *Affricanus* son,
 who could not so i-
 mitate his father, as
 the other *Affr.* son
 did his, through
 sicknesse; Or if we
 be not so fitted for
 pleading or defen-
 ding causes, or for
 making orations &
 like speeches to the
 people, or to fol-

q make warre.
 q it shall be his
 duty.
 * he can.
 q faithfulness.
 q to the end, that
 that thing may be
 less required.
 q And the best in-
 heritance is left
 from the fathers to
 the children, and
 better than all pa-
 trimonie [or liveli-
 hood or childspare]
 [viz.] the glorie
 of, &c.
 * shame, disgrace or
 disparagement.
 q judge an unjust
 thing [or disho-
 nest] and a fault.
 with orations, or
 to q follow the
 warres, yet q hee
 ought to performe
 those things which
 * shall bee in his
 power: as Iustice,
 q Fidelity, Libera-
 lity, Modestie, [&
 Temperance; q that
 that thing, which
 is lacking in him,
 may bee the lesse
 missed. q And in-
 deed the best inhe-
 ritance [which] is
 left by fathers un-
 to their children,
 and more worth
 than any patrimo-
 nie [is] the glory
 of [their] vertue,
 and of worthy
 deeds: whereun-
 to to be a * shame,
 is to be accounted
 [both] a fault and
 shame.
 low the wars or the
 like, that yet we are
 to be carefull to
 performe those
 things which are in
 our power (as ju-
 stice, fidelitie, libe-
 ralitie, modestie &
 temperance) in the
 best sort that we
 can, that so what is
 lacking in us may
 bee lesse missed.
 Finally, he conclu-
 deth this poynt, ur-
 ging the care of it;
 that sith indeed
 the best inheritance;
 which can be left by
 fathers unto their
 children, and which
 is more worth than
 any patrimonie, is
 the glorie of their
 vertues and worthy
 deeds; and for that
 cause, seeing to be a
 shame thereunto, is
 both a soule fault &

a great shame : shame. And be-
 therefore everie cause the same du-
 one should the ties *q* doe not be- *q* are not given or
 more warily looke long to unlike a- befitting.
 to the right imita- ges, but *q* some are *q* there are some
 tion of them. [duties] of young
 And thus he endeth for young men, o- men, others of olde,
 this matter, making thers for old men, something also is to
 an entrance to the discourse following somewhat is also be said of this di-
 of the diversitie of to be spoken of distinction.
 Duties in regard of this diversity.
 ages, &c.

 Chap. 45.

*What things doe
 properly become
 * youth.*

Chap. 45.

* young men.

Here T. teacheth
 the speciall duties
 of young men, and
 what things do be-
 come them : as,

1. That they reve-
 rence their elders.
2. That they chuse
 out, amongst the an-
 cienter, the best and
 most approved,
 whose counsell and

IT is therefore *qa* *q* [the Duty] of a
 young mans du- young man.
 tie to reverence
 his elders, and to
 chuse out of them
 the best and most
 approved ; whose
 counsell & autho-
 ritie

q leane unto.

q entering age, or
the tender yeares.
q ordered and
guided.
* experience.

q driven away or
weaned.
* pleasures.

* patiently indu-
ring toyle both, &c.

q flourish or be of
chiefe strength, or
they may be most
fit for.

q And also.

* wits.

* betake.

q pleasure.

q shamefastnesse.

ritie he may *q* relie upon. For the un-
skilfulnesse of
q youth, is to bee
q directed and go-
verned by the wis-
dome of old men.

This age is also to
be specially *q* re-
frained from * lust,
and to bee exerci-
sed in labour and

* patience both of
mind and bodie,
that their industry

may *q* excell both
in martiall and ci-
vill duties *q* More-
over, when they

will refresh their
* mindes and * give
themselves to *q* pa-
sttime, let them be-
ware of intempe-
rance, and remem-
ber *q* to observe
modesty; which
q they

authoritie they may
use and rely upon.
The reason where-
of is, because the
unskilfulnesse of
youth is to be di-
rected by the wis-
dom of the ancient.

3. That this age is
specially to be re-
strained from lust-
full pleasures, and
to bee exercised in
labour & patience
both of mind and
body, that they may
excell in martiall &
civill duties, & their
industrie bee seene
therein.

4. That when they
desire to recreate
themselves with
sports, they careful-
ly beware of intem-
perance, & remem-
ber modesty. And
to this end he thin-
keth it fit, that they
should have some of

the ancienter pre- q they may doe q shall be more
sent at such recrea- more easily, if they ease.
tions, wherein other- will q have their q their elders will
wise might be dan- elders also present be present, or a-
ger of any intem- at such * things. * mongst them.
perance or immo- * times.

Chap. 46.

*What things q do q become especially.
chiefly become olde
age.*

Chap. 46.

Here he setteth
downe some Duties
of olde men, as
especially concer-
ning them: as,
1. That they dimi-
nish the labours of
their bodies, and
increase the exer-
cises of the mind.
2. That they use all
indeavour to helpe
both their friends
* But the la- * But for old men,
bours of the labours of, &c.
body are to bee
q diminished in q lessened.
olde men, and ex-
ercises of the mind
q seeme meet to q doe seeme.
be increased. And
q they must doe q their diligence
their endeavour, must be given.
that they q princi- q helpe as much as
pally ayd both they can, or assist
their friends, and verie much.
the

the youth, & chiefly the younger sort,
ly the Common- and chiefly the
weale with coun- common-weale, by
sell and wisdom. their counsell and
wisdom.

* old men are to
beware of nothing
more.

But * nothing is 3. That they beware
more to bee taken in any case that
heed of to olde they give not
age, than that it themselves over to
give not it selfe o- litherness and idle-
ness.

ver to litherness

q slothfulness.

* But as for riot.
q is both filthy.

& q idleness. * Ri- 4. That they take
otousness also q as heed of riotous-
it is dishonest to ness: because as it
every age, q so to is dishonest to eve-
olde age most rie age; so in old
shamefull. men it is most
But if shamefull.

the intemperance 5. That they more
of lust shall q more heedfully avoid all
over bee joyned intemperance of
therewith, there is lust: because that,
a double q mis- joyned with riot or
chief; because both sloth, is a double
age it selfe q recei- mischief; for that
veth * shame [ther- both age it selfe re-
by] and it cau- ceiveth shame
seth q the young thereby, and also
mens intempe- that it maketh the
rance intemperance. younger sort to be
more shameless &
outrageous in all

q and also most
foule to old age.

q also come unto it.

* evill or inconve-
nience.

q conceiveth.

* disgrace.

q the intemperance
of yung men.

rance to bee more
q shamelesse. q impudent.

Chap. 47.

*What things q are
besitting the person
of the Magistrate.* q become.

Chap. 47.

Here T. proceedeth to set downe certaine Duties of Magistrates, private men, citizens and strangers; as which are most comly and commendable in each of them. And first, for the magistrate.

ANd * this in * that. deed is not from the purpose, q strange or besides to speak of the Duties of Magistrates, the matter. * concerning, or touching. [&] of private men, of citizens [and] of strangers. It is therefore the proper office of a Magistrate, q to consider that he represents the person of the Citie, q & that q and to owe. he ought to maintaine the q honour and ho-
nour.

q to keep lawes.
q to describe or set
downe.

q those things
to be, &c.

q trust or fidelitie.

q with an equall &
like law with the
citizens.

q submisfe and base.

q lifting up himself.

q will or desire.

* which concerne
peace and honestie.

* esteeme.

& reputation there.

of: q to see the sta-
tutes observed, q to
make lawes, and

to remember q that
those things are
committed to his

q charge. It be-
hoveth also, a pri-
vate man, to live

q under the like
law, as the rest of
the citizens (nei-

ther q as an under-
ling & abject, nor
q bearing himsefe

too high) and also
to q seeke those
things in the Com-

mon-weale, * that
are quiet and ho-
nest. For wee are

wont both to
* thinke and to call
such a one a good

citizen. But it is
the dutie of a stran-
ger

nour and reputati-
on thereof.

1. That hee see the
statutes of the citie
observed.

3. That he helpe to
make lawes.

4. That he ever re-
member all things
committed to his
trust and fidelitie.

Secondly, for the
private man.

1. That he live or-
derly, submitting
himself to the same
lawes and orders as
other citizens.

2. That he neither
demeane himsefe
too basely, as an un-
derling, or abject,
nor beare himsefe
too high.

3. That hee follow
those things onely
which concerne
peace and honestie;
for that such are e-
steemed good citi-
zens.

Thirdly, for the

stranger & alien inhabitant, he prescribeth this, as most befitting & safe;

1. That he meddle onely with his owne businesse, without inquiring into other mens matters; and much more without intermeddling in matters of the commonweale.

And to conclude, thus he sheweth that duties may be found out; when there is a wise consideration what is befitting to persons, times and ages.

And finally, to the end that wee may be constant in good duties, he setteth this downe as a generall rule;

That nothing can so grace a man as to keep constancie in managing everie matter, and also in asking of advice.

ger and q alien inhabitant, to meddle with nothing besides his owne

businesse, q nor to enquire of another mans matter; and

to bee q no whit

* curious in a

* strange Commonweale. q Thus for

the most part Du-

ties shall be found

out, when it shall

be enquired what

q is decent, and

what is q befitting

to persons, times

and ages. And

there is nothing

that * can so much

grace a man, as to

keep constancy in

q managing every

matter, and in * ta-

king of advice.

q one of another countrie inhabiting in the citie, a forreiner.

q to inquire [or ask busily] nothing of, &c.

q not at all.

* more busie than

is befitting, or over

medling.

* forren.

q So almost.

q sought out.

q becommeth.

q apr, fir, or agreeable.

* dorth so much become.

q doing or performing.

* consultation.

Chap.

Chap. 48.

q what is comly.

q *Comelinesse in
the ordering and
motion of [our]
bodie.*

Chap. 48.

q that.
q is seene.

q forme.

q is put.

q well favoured-
nesse.

q adorning or gar-
nishing.

q to action.

* expresse.

* conceived.

BUt because In this chapter T. sheweth, that com-
linesse is not onely
q this comli- to be observed in
nesse appeareth all our words and
in all deeds & words, deeds, but also in
and finally in the the verie motions
motion and q ge- and gestures of our
sture of the bodie, bodies.
& the same q con- And that this same
sisteth in three consisteth chiefly in
things, q fairnesse, these three things,
order [and] q set- viz. fairnesse, order,
ting forth, meet and handfomnesse
q for ones doings: of the gesture meet
it is more difficult for the thing done.
to utter, but it will Also that howso-
be easie enough to ever this point bee
be * understood. somewhat difficult to
That care also is utter, yet it is plaine
cōtained in these 3. enough to bee un-
things derstood.
Finally that in these
three things consi-

steth chiefly that things, that we be
care that we may ^{*}approved of them ^{*} allowed.
be approved of with whom, and
them with whom & amongst whom we
amongst whom we live. Let *q* some *q* a few words.
few [words] bee
spoken *q* likewise *q* also.
of these things.

Chap. 49.

q That it is un- *q* Certaine parts of
comly for certaine the bodie to bee
parts of the body so shewed, uncomly :
be shewed; and like- also certaine things
wise that it is unbe- either to be done
seeming either to do dishonestly openly;
certaine things, or so or to be named o-
penly.
much as to name
them openly.

Chap. 49.
Here T. proceedeth to shew more
specially how com-
lineesse may bee re-
tained in all these,
viz. word, deed, *q*
motion, gesture, *q*
that we may be ap-
proved of all.

And first, that wee
are chiefly to follow
nature herein like-
wise:
That as it seemeth
to have had a great

q First of all, na- *q* In the beginning
ture it selfe verie nature.
seemeth to have
had a great ^{*} re-
spect ^{*} regard or consi-
deration.

q in readinesse that
our, &c.

q favour, face or
physiomy.

q honest.

q uncomly.

q den.

q diligent.

q for all men, who
are of a sound mind
remove from the
eyes those things
which nature hath
hid.

spect of our body, which hath set *q* in
open view our
q countenance and
the rest of our
shape, wherein
there is a *q* comely
shew: but she hath
covered and hid
those parts of the
bodie, which being
given for the ne-
cessitie of Nature,
would have an il-
favored & *q* foule
sight. The mo-
destie of * man
hath followed this
so *q* cunning a
frame of Nature.

q For what things
Nature hath hid,
those all men, who
are well in their
wits, do keep from
the eyes: and they
doe their endea-

respect of our body,
having set in open
view our counte-
nance and the rest
of our shape, where-
in the principall
comlinesse is; but
hid those parts wh
being given onely
for necessitie of
nature would bee
uncomly to looke
upon: so the mode-
stie of man doth &
ought to follow this
so cunning a worke
of Nature: which
he declareth evi-
dently hereby;

Because what
things nature hath
hid, those all who
are wel in their wits
doe keep forth of
sight; and do what
they can to serve

your

the necessitie of your to serve ^{q obey.} nature as secretly ^{ry} necessitie as ^q necessitie of nature as may be. ^q closely as they ^q secretly. Likewise, of what parts of the bodie can: also of what parts of the body there are ^q servile ^q necessitie or base. vile and base uses, they neither they doe not, so call those parts ^q rearm. much as call them nor [their] uses or their uses by their own names by their names. So that, that which names: ^q and that. it is no shame to do that which it is no so it be secretly yet shame to doe, if it is uncleanly to be ^q secretly; it ^q closely or in a secret place. port. ^q uncleanly to report. And therefore ^q like to speak of it. neither the ^q doing of those things ^q open acting or doing of.

Whence it is, that the doing of those things openly can openly is void of not be without impudencie. ^q nor ^q shamelesse. impudencie, no nor the verie speaking them [free from] ^q not the speech is void of shamesse. of them can be free dishonestie. Neither yet indeed are the Cynicks ^q wot ^q to be heard. the Cynicks ^q worthy to be heard, or if there have S been

beene any Stoicks and also the Stoicks
 in manner Cynicks, who were almost
 who * reprove and point, who used to
 scoffe at us, because scoffe at them for
 wee say, *q* that this; because they
 those things are affirmed that these
 shamefull to bee things are shame-
 uttered in words, full to be uttered, in
 which are not dis- words, which are
 honest in deed : not dishonest in-
 and yet wee tearm used to tearm other
 those things which things by their
 be * filthie, by their owne names, which
 were dishonest and
 owne names : *q* as, vile indeed, as
 to robbe by the namely to rob,
 high wayes, * be- cosen, commit a-
 guile, commit a- dultrie, and could
 dultery, is a thing speake of them with
 dishonest indeed, out dishonestie; but
 but it is *q* spoken to beget children a
 of without any dis- selfe, they account-
 honestie : *q* to be- ed uncleanly to be
 get children is in- uttered.
 deed honest, *q* but
 uncleanly to bee
 uttered, *q* And so
 these Philosophers
 bring

* find fault with &
 mocke or jest at us.
q those things to be
 hainous [or shame-
 full] in words.
 * dishonest.
q as it is a thing dis-
 honest indeed to
 rob [or goe a thec-
 ving.] &c.
 * deceive or cosen.
q reported [or told]
 not obkenuely.
q to give the inde-
 vour for children.
q obscene in name.
q And moe things
 are disputed by the
 same [Philoso-
 phers] to that sen-
 tence, &c.
 This and other like
 reason they brought
 against modestie.

But for answer
hereof hee setteth
downe this as a sure
rule;

That we are herein
to follow nature, &
to shun every thing
which our eyes dis-
like to behold, or
our eares to heare.
So likewise that our
standing, going,
countenance, eyes
& gestures keep the
same decorum, as
that they may be
approved of all.

And here he giveth
warning of two
principall faults:

1. To beware that
we doe nothing ef-
feminately or too
nicely.

The other, that we
doe not any thing
rudely or clownish-
lie.

After, he urgeth
this point for obser-
ving comelinesse:

2. By the examples
of players, by who

bring many things
to that purpose a-
gainst q modestie.

q shamesfastnesse.

But let us follow

Nature, and q shun q lie.

every thing which

q abhorreth the ve-

rie * approbation

of the eyes & eares.

Let our standing,

going, sitting

downe, sitting at

the table, counte-

nance, eyes, mo-

ving of [our] hands

keep that same de-

corum. In which

things, two [faults]

are to be q avoided

especially: q that

wee doe nothing

effeminately or

nicely, q nor rude-

ly or clownishly.

Neither indeed

may wee yeeld un-

to * players & ora-

* stage players.

q abhorreth from
[or cannot receive
so much as] the ap-
probation, &c.

pleasing.
gave.

q comelinesse.
* faults.

q fled.

q effeminate [or
womanish], and
nice or wanton.

q and not any thing
hard [or rude] or
cancer-like.

q fit for them, dissolute [or left loosely] to us. tours, that these things should be q seemly done by them, dissolutely by us. The very custome of stage-players, hath so great q modestie from the ancient q order, that no man commeth on the stage without breeches. For they are afraid, lest if it should fall out by any chance that * certaine parts of the bodie should be q discovered, they would be q seene uncomly. 2. By the fashion in bathing, in use amongst them. q be beholden. q And indeed after our manner. That childre growing to mans estate might not be bathed with their parents, nor sonnes in law with their fathers in law; on q ripenesse of age. q mans estate, are not q bathed with their parents, nor q washed.

ly for this modestie nor sonnes in law
 which nature hath with their fathers
 taught. in law. The q mo- q shamefastnesse,
 Hence, finally hee concludeth, that destie therefore of or bashfulnesse.
 the modestie in this kinde is to be
 kinde is carefully q observed, especi- q retained.
 to be observed; e- ally Nature herself
 specially nature being Mistresse
 herselfe being such and guide.
 a strict mistresse & guide herein.

Chap. 30.

*What q beauty q forme or favour.
 becoms a man,
 what a woman, and
 how q both of them q either of them
 are to be q adorned: q decked or preser-
 ved.*

Here T. declareth *in like manner, what
 yet more particu- gesture, and what
 larly, what things motion is comely.*
 becom a man, what
 a womā, what both,
 so as they may bee
 approved of all. **B**UT whereas
 And first teacheth, there are two
 that whereas there kinds of q beau- q amiablenesse or
 are two Kindes of ty, in the one of comelinesse.
 S 3 which

Tullies Offices

q dignitie.

which is fairnesse, beautie, to wit fairnesse and majestie; in the other Majesty: we ought to account fairnesse to belong to the woman, and majesty to the man. that fairnesse belongeth more properly to the woman, as more comely for her, majestie to the man as more gracing him.

q adorning or tricking.

All q manner of trimming therefore Whence he giveth these lessons:

q not worthie man.

q unbecomming man must be removed from his outward forme: and let a fault like unto this be taken heed of in the gesture and in the motion.

q beaurie.

For both q the stirrings like wraistlers are oft times more q disliked, and also q many gestures of players are not without * foolish toyes; also in both kinds those things are comended which

1. That men beware of too much tricking their outward beautie.

q wraistler-like motions.

For both q the stirrings like wraistlers

* too too.

q odious.

q some.

* like players.

* follies.

are oft times more q disliked, and also q many gestures of players are not without * foolish toyes; also in both kinds those things are comended which

2 That they neither use over-violent motions like wraistlers, nor too much gesture or other foolish toyes like players; but that such as are most plaine are best.

are

- are right & plain. ¶ simple.
3. To preserve the majestie of the favour, by the goodnes of the colour; & that, by the exercise of the body. But the majesty of the favour is to be preserved by the goodnesse of the colour, [and] the colour by the exercises of the body.
4. That they carefully use cleanness, and that such as is not any way odious or too curious, but onely which eschewes all uncivill slovenry. ¶ There must moreover bee used a cleanness, [which is] not odious, nor too curious, but onely which escheweth all grude and uncivill slovenrie. ¶ There is to be added besides.
5. For apparell that it likewise be cleanly; and that in it, as in most things, a meane is best. ¶ The same regard is to be had of [our] apparell; in which as in most things a meane is the best: we must also take heed that we neither use ¶ too soft slownesses, or too much nicenesse.
6. For our passe, That we neither use overnice slownesse, ¶ passe, that wee going or gate should

* pageants borne in triumphes or
 shewes to be seene.
 q either that we
 take up.
 q swiftnesse.
 q are done.
 q the breathings
 are moved.
 q countenances are
 changed.
 q the faces are writ-
 then.
 q a great significa-
 tion is made, no
 constancie to be
 present.
 * studie.
 * affections.
 q depart not.
 q perturbations or
 moodes.
 q amazednesse.

should seeme to be like the * Pageants
 in triumphes, q nor
 too much q speed
 in our haste.
 Which things whē
 they q fall out,
 q there followeth
 shortnes of breath,
 the q countenance
 is changed, q the
 face is disfigured:
 of which q ariseth
 a great presumpti-
 on, that they have
 no staiednesse. But
 we must * labour
 much more, that
 the * motions of
 our mind q swarve
 not from Nature:
 which we shall at-
 taine, if we beware
 that we fall not in-
 to q passions and
 q mazes, and if we
 wil keep our minds
 q heed-

to seem to goe like
 pageants borne in
 triumphs, as it
 were, not moving,
 nor yet too much
 speed in our haste.
 This later he gi-
 veth speciall war-
 ning to prevent by
 the inconveniences
 following thereof;
 as shortnesse of
 breathing, chang-
 ing of the counte-
 nance, disfiguring
 the face; whence
 ariseth a great pre-
 sumption of lacke
 of staiednesse in
 the party.
 7. That yet above
 all these, wee looke
 to the motions of
 our minds, that
 they swarve not
 from nature.
 And withall teach-
 eth how wee may
 attaine thereunto;
 viz. if wee beware
 that we fall not in-
 to passions, & apply

our minds to pre-
serve comeliness. *q* heedfull to the *q* attent.
* preservation of * keeping.

Lastly, hee giveth
this advice, That
whereas the moti-
ons of the mind are
of two sorts, some
of the thoughts
others of the appe-
tite; that wee care-
fully imploy our
thoughts about the
verie best matters,
and ever make our
appetites obedient
to reason. But
the motions of the
mind are *q* of two *q* double.
sorts; some of the
q * thoughts, o- *q* cogitation.
thers of the appe- * understanding.
tite. The thought
is *q* especially busi- *q* conversant or ex-
cised in searching
out the truth; the
appetite * infor- * stirreth a man to
ceth a man to be doing.
action. *q* We must *q* Therefore wee
therefore bee care- must care or pro-
full, that we *q* im- vide.
ploy our thoughts *q* ule our cogitati-
about the very best on unto the, &c.
matters, [and] that
wee *q* make [our] *q* give.
appetite obedient
to reason.

Chap.

Chap. 51.

*two sorts of
speech.

*eloquent.
q daily.

There is * a dou-
ble kinde of speech,
* rhetorical and
q common.

q there is great
force of speech.

q double.

q contention.

q talke.

* eloquent speech.
q let it be given.

q of judgements,
assemblies [or so-
lemne meetings]
the Senate houle.

q speech let it be
used in circles [or
common meetings]
q disputations.

Chap. 51.
In this Chapter
and the next, T. gi-
veth directions for
the manner of our
speech, and here
first for the rhero-
ricall or more veho-
ment speech;
That whereas there
are two sorts of
speech, the one
more eloquent and
vehemēt, the other
ordinary, he dire-
cteth that the veho-
mēt speech serve for
pleadings, orations,
speeches in the Se-
nate house, and the
like : the ordinarie
speech speeches in the Se-
nate house, and the
like : the ordinarie
speeches in usuall meetings
and debates of
things

matters or feasts & things of *q*familiars, *q*familiar [friends.]
the like. and *q* let it also be *q* let it pursue [or
at feasting. attend upon] feasts.

2. He sheweth that * There are ma- * the Rhetoricians
the Rhetoricians ny precepts of give many precepts
give many precepts Rhetoricians, of concerning vehe-
for the vehement ment speech.
speech, none for vehement speech,
the ordinarie. none of ordinarie

talke : although I
* knowe not whe- * wot.
ther *q* there may *q* these also may be,
not be such also.

Howbeit he think- Howbeit there are *q* But maistres [or
eth there may be masters for their teachers] are found
for this also ; (al- studies that will for the studies of
though there are learne : but there learners.
none that studie it,
and so no such
teachers for it, as
there are for the
vehement, all places
being replenished
with store of Rhe-
toricians; and that
the same precepts
which serue for
words & sentences
may serue for ordi-
narie speech.

3. For the more ve- for talke. But sith to talke.
hement ; that sith that we have [our]
voyce

Rhetoricians. Al-
though those same
precepts which are
of words & senten-
ces, *q* may serue *q* will appertaine
for talke. But sith to talke.
that we have [our]
voyce

* the utterer, or to utter.

q and we follow two things in our voice.

q both of them is to be required, &c.

q of men speaking. q pressly and mildly [will increase] the other.

q to use an exquisite judgement of letters or pronouncing.

q but and others.

voyce the * declarer of [our] speech,

q and in our voyce we seek two

things, that it be cleare and sweet,

q they both are to be fetched altoge-

ther from Nature; but exercise will in-

crease the one, and imitation q of them

that speake q pithily and pleasantly, the other.

What was there in the *Catuli*, that you should think them

q to be of an exquisite judgement

in learning? Although they were

learned, q so were others also. But

these were thought to use the Latine

tongue the best, their

our voice is given us to be the declarer of our mind,

and that in it wee seek these two

things, that it be cleare and sweet; he

reacheth that although both of them are to be

ferched from nature, yet they may be much helped;

the clearnesse by continuall exercise,

the pleasantnesse by imitation of them who speak

most pithilie and pleasantly.

That these two doe exceedingly commend the voice,

he proveth by instances in the *Catuli*, who where

thought to be of exquisite learning,

& to excell others, who were as learned; and to surpass

others in the Latine tongue, only

because their pro- their *q* pronuntia- *q* sound.
 nuntiation was so tion was sweet,
 sweet, their letters neither
 Their letters were neither too much *q* too much mou- *q* expressed nor op-
 mouthed, nor thed nor drowned, pressed.
 drowned in their left it should be ei-
 pronuntiation, lest ther *q* darke to be *q* obscure.
 their speech should understood, or *q* unpleasant or too
 have bin either ver harsh. [Their much affected.
 darke or unpleasant. Their voice also voyce was] with-
 without straying, out straining, nei-
 neither too weake, ther *q* faint nor *q* fainting.
 nor too shrill. So *q* too shrill. The *q* shrill
 that although the speech of *Lucius*
 speech of *L. Cr.* was *Crassus* [was] more
 more flowing and *q* flowing, and no *q* plentiful.
 no lesse conceited, yet for eloquence lesse *q* conceited. *q* pleasant.
 the *Catuli* were in *q* Yet for eloquence *q* But the opinion
 as great estimation. the *Catuli* were in concerning *Catuli*,
 no lesse estimati- of well speaking,
 on. But *Cesar*, the was not lesse.
 Lastly, he teacheth brother of the fa-
 by the example of ther of *Catulus*,
Cesar, *Catulus* *q* went beyond all *q* overcame.
 thers brother, that in *q* wit and plea- *q* salt.
 each should labour in *q* conceits, that
 to excell in wit and pleasant conceits, that
 pleasant conceits; in that verie law-
 yerlike

q overcame the
contention.

q speech.
q we must labour
therefore.

q becommeth.

yerlike kinde of that hereby, in his
speaking, he q sur- verie familiar talke
passed the vehe- he went beyond the
mencie of others, eloquence of o-
thers:

[even] in q [his] And therefore con-
familiar talk. q We cludeth that we are
must therefore to take paines in e-
take paines in all verie one of these,
these things, if we if we seeke to at-
seeke out what q is taine what is de-
decent in every cent in everie
matter.

matter.

Chap. 52.

[How our] fa-
miliar talke is to be
* moderated.

* guided, ordered
or directed.

* familiar talke.

* mild, and not at
all obstinate.

Let then this Chap. 52.
* talke (in Here he giveth
which the Socra- fundry precepts for
tions most excell) ordinarie talke ;
be * gentle, and Wherein the So-
not froward. Let crations did most
there bee therein excell: as,
q 2 1. That it be gentle,
not stoward, but ha-

ving a pleasant *q* a pleasantnesse. *q* a pleasant grace.
 grace.

2. That wee grant Neither yet indeed
 others their due *q* let a man exclude *q* let him exclude.
 course and free li- others, as though
 bertie of speech, as hee were *q* entered *q* come.
 well as wee wish to into his owne pos-
 our selves. session: but let him

thinke that he
 ought *q* oft times *q* now and then.
 to use an enter-
 chage-able course,
 as in other matters
 so also in common
 talke.

3. To consider well And let him, *q* con- *q* see.
 of the matter of the sider first of all of
 communication, that what matters hee
 if it be about ear- speake: if [it bee]
 nest businesse wee of earnest busines-
 use sagenes, or se- ses, let him *q* use *q* adde.
 veritie: in merry *q* sagenesse; if of *q* severitie or gra-
 matters pleasant- merry matters, viny.
 nesse. pleasantnesse. Es-

4. That our speech
 bewraie not some *q* looke unto it *q* foresee.
 vice in our man- that his talke doe
 ners. not *q* bewray some *q* declare.
 vice

q to be in his man-
ners.

q it is spoken studi-
ously of the absent,
for the cause of de-
tracting.

q either by a mocke
or severely, or re-
proachfully or con-
tumeliously.

q And [common]
speeches are had
for the most part.

q Therefore our di-
ligence is to be
given.

q although our
speech.

vice q in his man-
ners. Which is

wont to fall out
then especially,

when as q men do
speake purposely

of them who are
absent, to their re-

proach, q in scorne
or earnest, either

raylingly, or spite-
fully. q Moreover,

ordinarie commu-
nication is for the

most part, either
of domesticall bu-

sineses, or of the
Common - weale,

or of the studies of
good arts, and of

learning. q Wee
must therefore do

our endeavour,
that q howsoever

our communica-
tion shall begin to

stray unto other
mat-

And this hee teach-
eth to fall out then

especially, when we
speake of let purpose,

of them that are
absent to their re-

proach, whether in
scorne or good ear-

nest, either ray-
lingly or spitefully;

and therefore to be
wary how we

speake of such, who
being absent are

not able to defend
themselves.

5. Our ordinarie
communication be-

ing for the most
part of some more

serious matter, as
of domesticall busi-

nesses, or things
concerning the

commonweale, or
some matter of

learning; that we
endeavour to call

backe and keep our
speech to the point

in hand till it be fi-
nished, if upon oc-
casion any begin to
divert from it.

matters, [yet] it be
called back *q* here- *q* unto these things.

6. That whatsoever we talke of (as there are varieties of matters and occasions) yet we consider and looke well to this, how our speech may be seasoned with delight to give content to them that heare us.

unto. But howso-
ever, the matters
bee (for neither shall be present
are wee [all] de-
lighted with the
same things, nor
at every season,
nor alike) [yet] we
must also *q* consi- *q* marke.
der how our
speech may *q* bee *q* have delight.
seasoned with de-

7. As we are to be carefull to take a meet occasion for the entrance into our discourse; so for the ending of it, to do it in the best manner.

light : and as there
was a way to begin
it ; so let there bee
a *q* good manner *q* measurable mean
of the ending ther- or good fashion.
of. But because
this is most rightly

8. That as we are injoynd to flie all passions in our whole life, so more specially in our talke we are to beware of all

q injoynd, in our *q* commanded.
whole life, that we
flie [all] *q* passi- ; perturbations.
ons, that is to say,
all *q* unmeasurable *q* over great stir-
ringes.
moodes of mind,

T. *q* not

q not obeying reason.

* greedie desire.
q slothfulnesse.

q we must care.

q we confer speech.

q happen or come by chance.

q That is also to be done.

q not ruled by reason : so our talke must bee void of such passions, lest there bee scene [in it] either anger, or any * covetousnes, or q lazinesse, or cowardlinesse, or lest any such thing appeare. And above all, q we are to be carefull, that wee seeme both to reverence and love them with whom q we talke. Also now & then, there q fall out necessarily chidings, wherein peradventure wee are to use a greater straying of voyce, and a sharper gravitie of words. q wee are also to looke to that, moodie fits not ruled by reason, that there appeare not in any part of our speeche either anger, covetousnesse, lazinesse, or cowardlinesse, or any such unbecoming fault.

9. That above all we be carefull that we may be thought both to reverence and love them with whom we talke.

10. If it fall out that wee are necessarily occasioned to chide any, and therein to use more loudnesse of voyce & more sharpnesse in words, yet that we are to looke

to this, that we seem that, that we doe
 not to doe it iteful- not seeme to doe
 ly or headily: but, as those things *q* an- qirefully.
 the wise & discreet grily: but as Phy-
 Physicians who licians [doe come]
 come to searing & to sear ng and cut-
 cutting but verie ting, so we come
 seldome and as it seldome and [as it
 were unwillingly, were] unwillingly
 when no other meanes will serve; to *q* such kinde of *q* this kinde of
 so we come likewise rebuking; *q* nor e- chastising.
 to this kinde of re- rebuking; *q* and not at any
 buking, & that ne- ver but necessarily, time but upon
 ver but necessarily, if no other remedy needfull.
 when no other re- will be found. But
 medy wil be found. yet *q* let it be alto- *q* let anger be farre
 Here he giveth also together void of an- away.
 four other cautions ger, with which
 for our rebuking of nothing can bee
 others, that it may done well, nothing
 be comly and pro- *q* considerately.
 fitable.
 1. That it bee alto- *q* For the most *q* discreetly or
 together void of an- part likewise *q* we advisedly.
 ger, because in it no- may use a gentle *q* And for a great
 thing can bee done manner of rebu- part.
 well or advisedly. king, yet *q* tempe- *q* it is lawfull to use.
 2. That it be done *q* gravitie being
 in as mild a manner red with gravitie, *q* gravitie being
 as may be, yet tem- that both severity *q* adjoyned.
 pered with gravitie, * auteritie be ad-
 that a wholesome ded.

T 2 may

- q reproachfull speech he repelled.
 q same thing of bitterneffe which chiding hath.
 q undertaken.
 * sake.
 q right.
 * braules or quarrels.
 q unbecitting us, unfashionable.
 * keep.
 q repell angerneffe.
 * perturbation.
- may bee shewed, and all q contumely avoided. And also that q same bitterneffe which is in chiding, must bee signified to have, beene q used for his * cause who is chidden. It is q good also, even in those * contentions, which are made with our greatest enemies, although we heare [words] q unfit to bee spoken to us ; yet to * retaine a gravity, [and] to q suppress the angry moode. For those things which are done with any * passion, can neither be done constantly, nor bee
- severitie may bee shewed, & all contumely avoided.
 3. If there seeme to be any bitterneffe in it, that it be signified that it was used chiefly for his good who was chidden.
 4. Even in those contentions which fall out to be with our enemies, howsoever they give us verie unbecitting speeches, that yet we ever retaine gravity and suppress our angry moode, because we cannot otherwise carry our selves wisely therein, nor be approved
- ap-

of them who are approved of them
 present. that are present.
 Lastly, hee giveth this advice, that in It is also * an un- * a matter unbefit-
 speaking of our comly thing, [for ting or unbecom-
 owne matters, wee a man] to report ming.
 beware how we re- [great matters] of
 port any great himselfe; especial-
 things of our selves, ly being false; and
 especially false, seem- to imitate the
 ing to imitate therein the glo- * glorious souldier, * Thraſo in Te-
 rious souldier, with with the q scorning rence.
 the scorning of the of the hearers. q laughing at or
 hearers. scorning.

Chap. 53.

*What order is to
 bee kept q in build- q in building up
 ings. edifices.*

Chap. 53.

Here T. desirous to pursue every point wherein comelinesse may consist, cometh to buildings, for the order and decencie to bee observed in them, **A**ND because wee pursue q every point (q at q all things. q we will in verie deed.
 least certainly we desire to doe it) we must shew also
 T 3 what

qit pleaseth or it li-
kerh us, that the
houle &c.

* occupying it.
q description.

q accommodated
or fitted.
q a diligent care is
to be added or used.

q dignitie.
* handfomnesse.

qit to have bin, &c.

q who was made
the first Confull
of that familie.

q famous [or gor-
geous] and full of
dignitie.

qv. used commonly.

what a one qit be-
commeth the

house of an hono-
rable man and of

a Prince to bee :
though for the

the end whereof
is the * use; where-

unto the q plot of
the building must

be q framed ; and
yet [withall] q there

must a respect
be had of the

q statelineffe and
* commodiounesse

of it. Wee have
heard q that it was

an honorto *Kneius*
Octavius (q who

was the first Con-
full of that familie)

that he had built a
q goodly and very

stately house in
the place : Which

when it was q seen
of all the vulgar

And first, for the
house of a Prince

or an honourable
man, he giveth this

precept, That al-
though for the

frame & forme of it,
it must bee fitted

especially accor-
ding to the end of

it, which is chiefly
the use thereof : yet

notwithstanding
that there must be a

due respect had, to
the state and counli-

nesse of it, meet for
the place & honour

of the owner.

This he sheweth,
I. By the example

of *Kn. Octavius*,
the first that was

Confull of that fa-
mille : who by rea-

son of a goodly
house which he had
built in the place,
yet such as was be-
fitting him, is re-
ported, not onely to
have received much
honour, but also
sort through the con-

course of the vulgar fort [resorting thi-
 fort to view it, and ther] it was
 of other beholders, thought to further
 to have bin advanced the master [of it]
 to the Consulship ; being other- (being q a man
 wise a man but newly come up) q a new man.
 newly come up.
 2. By another ex- unto the Consul-
 ample of Scaurus ship. *Scaurus* q pluc- q having demoli-
 contrarie to this, ked this downe, shed or throwne
 who building be- [and] enlarged his downe this, made
 yond his estate o- owne houses. an access to his, &c.
 verthrew himselfe * Therefore * *Octa- * And so.*
 therby For howso- *vius* first brought * the Emperour.
 ever hee was made the Consulship in-
 by Octavius the to his house: q this q this the sonne of
 first Consull of his other a noble & fa- a chiefe and fa-
 family for it, and mous mans sonne, mous man.
 was a noble mans son; yet he brought
 into his enlarged brought into his
 hous: together with enlarged house,
 the Consulship, not not onely a repulse
 onely a repulse, but but also q shame q ignominy and
 also shame and mi- and miserie. For calamity.
 serie in the end, a mans honour is
 when he was not a- to bee q set out by q adorned.
 ble to maintaine it. his house, and not
 And therefore here his whole honour
 he giveth two rules sought * from his * by.
 to this purpose. house:
 1. That a mans ho-
 nour is to be set out

q honested or adorned.
q honested or honored.

q other things.

* in a noble mans house.

q famous.

* intertained.

q multitude.

* all sorts.

q there is to be had a care of largenesse or widenesse.

q ample.

q is made.

house : Neither is by his house, and the Master to bee not to bee wholly sought from his house.

q graced by [his] house ; but the a. That the master house is to be qgraced is not to looke to be graced by his house, but his house by him.

And as in all

q things else, a regard is to be had for such buildings is this, That a man mans owne selfe, therein have regard not only of himself, but also of others ; but also of others.

so * in the house

of a q noble man, great mens houses

into which both into which many

many guests are strangers are to be

to bee * received, received, & a great

and a q number of number of all sorts

men of * every sort to bee admitted,

[is] to bee admittiall provision for

ted, q there must convenient roome,

be made a provisi- so as it may be large

on for roomth; enough, and the

Otherwise, a q large owner able to

house oft times that it may ever

q prooveth a dis- be well fild ; for

grace to the Master that otherwise a

large house may

q if prove a disgrace

to the master if it *q* if there bee in it *q* if it be but little
come to be solitary, solitarinesse, and es- frequented.
pecially if it was pecially if at any
ever well filled by time it was wont
another master. to be *q* well filled *q* much frequented.

This disgrace hee For it is an odious
exaggerates by the thing, when it is
odious speeches of said of *q* the pas- *q* them that passe
the passers by, as sers by : by.
might be truly veri-
fied of many in his
daies.

O ancient house,
alas with how
q unbefitting a ma- *q* unequall or un-
ster art thou go- meet.
verned ?

Al. q Which in- *Al. q* which same
deed a man may thingat is lawfull
[truly] say of ma- to say.
ny *q* now a-daies. *q* in our times.

A third precept is, You must take
that in such build- heed also, *q* name- *q* especially if your
dings a measure be ly if you build, selfe build or bee a
kept for sumptuous- builder.
nesse and magnifi- that you *goe not *exceed not.
cence. beyond measure in

q sumptuousnesse *q* cost.
& *magnificence : *gorgeousnesse or
in the which kind, statelynesse.
there

* much hurt com-
meth even by the
example.

* the most men do
imitate studiously
the deeds &c, of the
chiefe men.

q part.

q chiefe.

q magnificence [or
sumptuousnesse] of
his farme houses.

q Of which things
doubtlesse a meane
is to be used.

q recalled.

* keeping a mean.

Al. q to everie use,
& handfomnesse or
conveniencie.

q But [we have pro-
secuted] these
things hitherto.

ther is q much evill
even in the exam-
ple. For * very
many doe earnest-
ly imitate the do-
ings of Princes,
especially in this
q behalfe: as, Who
[doth imitate] the
vertue of *Lucius*

Lucul. a q singular
man? yet how ma-
ny have imitated
the q statelinesse of
his manour pla-
ces? q Whereof yet
in very deed a
measure is to bee
kept, and to bee
q reduced unto * a
mediocritie, and
that same medio-
crite to be referred

Al. q to the comon
use and ornament
of life. q But of
these hitherto.

Chap.

Because thereby o-
therwise ariseth
much evill, even by
the example. The
reason is: for that
verie many do ear-
nestly imitate the
workes of Princes
chiefly, in this be-
halfe, although
they never regard
their vertues.

This he instanceth
in L. Lucullus a sin-
gular man for ver-
tue; yet none imita-
ted him in that; but
verie many in the
sumptuousnesse of
his manour places.
And therefore hee
concludeth, that in
all these things a
measure is to bee
kept, and all to bee
reduced thereunto;
and finally that that
same mediocritie is
to be referred to the
common use and
ornament of life.

Chap. 54.

*Three things q to q are to be observed.
bee observed in the
whole life.*

Chap. 54.

In this Chapter T. q
setteth downe three
things to bee care-
fully observed in a
mans whole life; as,
much tending to
the gracing thereof
& so of everie par-
ticular action.

1. That appetite &
will ever obey rea-
son; than which he
teacheth that no-
thing can be fitter
to preserve us in
the way of vertue.

2. That wee confi-
der wisely of each
matter which wee
desire to bring to
passe; and so also of
a meet diligence for
the sure effecting
thereof, & neither
more nor lesse care

q Moreover, q And.
M in every

action q we under- q to be undertaken.
take, three things
are to bee q obser- q kept.

ved. First, that ap-
petite obey reason:
than which, no-
thing is more

* meet to preserve
Dutie.

* fit to preserve
duties.

q Secondly, that
wee consider how

q And then that it
be considered.

great the matter is,
which we desire
q to bring to passe; q effect.

and that neither
* greater nor lesse * lesse.

care & * diligence * payne.

q be used than the q be undertaken.
cause

cause requireth. than the matter re-

A third thing quireth.

is, that wee take 3. That in things

heed, *Al. q* that which chiefly ap-

we moderate those pertaine to hone-

things which ap- sty, wee ever mo-

pertaine to libera- derate all, by retain-

lity, by an honest and seemly grace

shew and *q* seemly according to our

grace. And the in all things ever to

best meane is, to strive to keep that

keep that comeli- hath bin taught ;

nesse, whereof we and not to goe be-

spake before; *q* and yond it.

not to goe beyond Finally, he conclu-

it. Also the chiefe deth, that yet of

of these three is, these three this is

the chiefe, That ap-

q that appetite o- perite ever obey

bey reason. reason.

Al. q that those things which ap-
pertaine to an ho-
nest shew be mode-
rated by dignitie.

q digniry.

q nor to proceed
any further.

q appetite to obey.

Chap.

Chap. 55.

*Comelineſſe from
the place and time.*

Chap. 55.

Here T. about to
teach how comli-
neſſe is to be kept in
regard both of
place & time, viz. in
observing the right
order of doing
things, and fitteſt
opportunities of
times for the ſame,

1. That therein is
contained that
knowledge which
the Grecians call
σωφροσύνη, meaning
thereby not that
which the Latines
expound modeſty,
viz. moderation, in
which word *modus*,
to wit a meane, is
comprehended; but
σωφροσύνη, viz. diſ-
cretion, or keeping
order.

2. He teacheth how

NOW we are *q* furthermore
to ſpeake wee muſt ſpeake
of the order of
things and oppor-
tunity of times :
and herein is con-
tained that *q* know- *q* ſcience or ſkill.

ledge which the
Grecians *q* call *q* name.

σωφροσύνη, not this,
wh we *interpret * expound.

q moderation, in *q* modeſtie.

which words *mo-*
du [viz. a mean]

q is comprehen- *q* is in.

ded. But this is

[that] *σωφροσύνη*, in

which is *q* meant a *q* underſtood a pre-
ſervation.

keeping of order. *q* modeſtie or mo-
deration.

As therefore wee
call the ſame *q* diſ-
cretion

* moderation.

q a science.

q placing or disposing.

q owne:

q force or property. q power of order

q placing or disposition.

q a framing or ordering things.

* fit.

q Also the say, place to be of the action, opportunitie of the time.

* the seasonable [or fit] time of an action.

cretion is thus defined of the Stoicks: that * discretion is q the knowledge of q setting those things which shall bee done or said, in their q proper place. And so it seemeth there will be the same this is defined by the Stoicks, viz. That discretion is a science of setting those things, which are done or said, in their proper place and order. And so maketh it nothing but a facultie of ordering & disposing things aright. Because thus they define order also,

That it is a composing of things in apt and convenient places, And say that place belongeth to action, but opportunitie to time.

ces. q And place they say belongeth unto action, but opportunity unto time. Also * the

time convenient for the doing of any thing
[is] 3. For the time convenient for the doing of things, hee first sheweth it by the name; that it is

called in Greeke [is called] in
ὁκαιεία, in Latine *Greeke ὁκαιεία*, in
occafio; and then de- *Latine it is called* *q it is called in La-*
 fineth it, that *occafio*. So *q it is,* *q it commeth to*
occafio is a knowledge *q it commeth to*
 of the opportuni- *that this discretion,* *patte.*
 ties, or fit seasons *which wee inter-*
 to doe any thing, *pret, as I have said,*
is a knowledge of
the opportunity of
fit q seasons to doe *q times to doe a*
any thing. *q Yet* *thing.*
there may be the *q But.*
same definition of
prudence, whereof
wee spake in the
beginning. But
q in this place we *q we aske in this*
place.

Also that prudence
 (spoken of before)
 may be defined af-
 ter the same man-
 ner.

To conclude this
 chapter, he sheweth
 that here he spea-
 keth concerning
 discretion and tem-
 perance, and other
 vertues like unto
 them, having spo-
 ken before of pru-
 dence and the pro-
 perties thereof, in
 the right place; and
 in their place. But
 what

moderation and
 temperance * and
 [other] vertues like
 vertues.,
 q of these.
 * And so.
 * Spoken.

* properties.

q speake a good
while agoe.

q shamefastnesse.
q to the approba-
tion of them.

what * things of that now he is only
these vertues, to speake of such o-
ther vertues, as ap-
wherof wee have pertain to modesty,
q begun to speake, and to gaine the
do appertain to good liking of
q discretion, and them with whom
q to their liking we live,
with whom we
live, are now to be
shewed.

Chap. 56.

q becommeth.

q becommeth not.

*What q is decent
in every place and
time, and what
q not.*

Chap. 56.

In this chapter T.
being to shew what
is decent in everie
action, *time and

* we are therefore
to keepe such an
order.
q used.

q that all things be
fit and agreeable a-
mong themselves,
as in a constant ora-
tion, so in the life.
* fit.

* Such an order
then of our
actions is to bee
q observed, q that
as in a well framed
oration, so in [our]
life all things bee
* apt and agreea-
ble

place, teacheth,
1. That such an or-
der is to be kept in
all our actions, that
in our whole life, all
the parts & everie
thing therein, bee
apt both for place
and time, & agree-

able amongst them
selves; like as in a
wel framed oration.
And secondly, that
of the contrary it is
dishonest and verie
faulke, to doe that
which is unbecom-
ming in any action.
As for example: If
a man in a sage
matter, should bring
in table talke, or
any wanton or idle
speech.

This he confirmeth
by a witty speech of
Pericles; who when
Sophocles the Po-
et was joyned with
him in the pretor-
ship, and they two
were of a time com-
muning about mat-
ters of their office;
as by chance a faire
boy passed by, So-
phocles said, Oh
faire boy! Pericles
reprehending him,
spake this unto him
again: But Sopho-
cles it becommeth
a Pretour to have

ble among them-
selves. For it is
a dishonest thing
and very faulty, in

a q sage matter q severe.
q to bring in any q to bring in any
table talke, or wan- speech meet for a
ton speech. Well feast, or delicate.

spake Pericles,
when he had So-
phocles the Poet

q joyned with him q his colleague or
in the Pretorship, fellow.
q and these two q and they had tal-
were communing a- ked of the common
bout their office; Dutie.

q as by chance a q and a faire boy
well favoured boy passed by, by
passed by, and So- chance.

phocles had said,
Oh faire boy! Pe-
ricles, [he] answe-

red: q But Sopho- q But for.

cles, it becommeth
a Pretor to have
not onely q con- q abstaining or
V tinent forbearing.

q And.

q in the approbation of wrafflers, or where wrafflers are allowed or tried.
q wanted.

q muse.

q devise any matter more attentively.

q the same thing.

q for the ignorance of the time.

continent hands, but not onely stayed eyes also. q Now hands, but continent eyes also. if *Sophocles* had Now concerning spoken this same this speech T. sheweth, that if *Sophocles* had used it in a place of approbation of wrafflers, hee had some other place, as q beene free from where masteries are beholden or the like, he had beene just reproofe. So free from any just great force there reproofe: whereas is both of place doing it in this and time, that if place & at this time, any man, when he he was justly reprov- is to plead a cause ed, for that there is doe q meditate such great force of with himselfe in his time & place herein. journey, or in his 3. He setteth it his walking, or forth by another example illustrated q thinke of any o- by a comparison of ther thing more contraries, thus; seriously, he may If any man when not be reprov'd; hee is to plead a cause, doe meditate but if he doe q the of it in his journie like at a feast he or as he is walking, may bee thought or doe then thinke uncivil, q for ha- more seriously of ving any other matter, he is not disliked: whereas if he

should doe the like
at a feast, he would
be thought verie
uncivill, for having
no regard of time
or place.

4. Hee teacheth,
whereas some dis-
orders are so grosse,
and so far disagree-
ing frō all civility,
as they need not
greatly any admo-
nition or p.cept, as
to sing in the plea-
ding place or the
like; that wee are
therefore to shun
more carefully
those faults which
seeme to bee but
small, and cannot be
perceived of every
one but only of the
wise, for that they
are to judge even of
the least disorder.

This he teacheth by
a fit similitude ta-
ken from musiciā;
who avoid the least
jarre in their instru-
ments, because the
verie least is easily

ning no regard to
the time.

Howbeit those
things which farre

disagree from *q* all *q* humanitie.

civility (as if any

man sing in the

q market place, or *q* pleading place,

if there be any o. or in the street.

ther great *q* dis-*q* perversenesse.

order) doe *easily* soone or plainly.

appeare, neither

doe they greatly

need admonition

or precepts; *q* But

wee are more care-

fully to shun those

faults which seeme

to bee small, and

cannot be percei-

ved of *many:

as, *q* in stringed

or *q* winde instru-

mēts, though they

q jarre never lo

little, yet *q* it is

usually observed

marked.

V 2 of

q but what faults
seeme to be small,
neither can be un-
derstood of many,
we must decline
from these more di-
ligently.
*most.

q in instruments
as, *q* in stringed with strings, as
harp or lute.

q pipes.

q differ, disagree or
be out of tune.

it is wont to be
marked.

* cunning.

¶ we must live so in
[our] life, or to de-
meane our selves.

¶ least peradventure
any thing jarre.

¶ by how much a
consent [or con-
cord] of actions.

* tunes.

¶ the cares of Mu-
sicians.

¶ the least things.

* quicke.

* censurers or cor-
rectors of vices.

¶ looking or sted-
fast beholding or
fixing.

of a * skillfull

[man] ¶ We are
so to carry our
selves in our life,

¶ that nothing
chance to jarre;
yea and by much

more also, ¶ as
an harmony of
deeds is greater
and better than

of * sounds. And
therefore as ¶ the
Musicians cares

do: perceiue even
the least dis-
cords in instru-

ments : so wee
(if wee will bee
sharp and * di-

ligent judges, and
* markers of
faults) shall oft
understand great

things of small;
Wee shall easily
judge by the ¶ set-

observed, of the
skillfull: and so wee
likewise are to de-
meane our selves in
our whole life, that
nothing chance to
jarre therein. And
that this wee are to
doe so much the ra-
ther, as an harmony
of deeds, is greater
and better than a
harmony of sounds.
Then, where as it
may bee said, But
how shall I come to
discerne of these li-
tle faults; hee an-
swereth it by a fit
similitude:

That as the musi-
cians cares doe per-
ceiue even the least
discords, in instru-
ments, by a diligent
observation and
comparing of
sounds; so wee, if we
will bee diligent
markers & judges
of faults, shall be
able to understand
even the least.
Secondly, he giveth

speciall direction of the eyes,
 how we may judge *q* by either the *q* either by the re-
 by others : viz. by smooth looking or mission or contra-
 observing the fix- bending of the ction of the eye-
 ing of their eyes, browes, by sad- nesse or dumpish-
 the smooth looking browes, by sad- nesse, mirth, laugh- nesse, by mirth, by
 or bending of their browes, their dum- ter, speech, silence, &c.
 pishnesse, mirth, *q* straying and *q* contention and
 laughing, speech, si- falling of the voice, submission.
 lence, or over much and other like
 lifting up or falling things, * which of * what is done.
 of their voices, or them is fitly done,
 the like; so in them which *q* swerveth *q* disagreeeth.
 to judge what was from Duty and
 done fitly, what o- Nature. In which
 therwise. And then kinde it is not * in- * amisse or incon-
 what we have ob- commodious to venient.
 served to be unde- judge by others,
 cent in others, to *q* of what sort each *q* what a one.
 avoid the same in of them is : that
 our selves. it any thing bee
 indecent in others,
 wee our selves also
 may avoid it. For
 it comes to passe,
q I wot not how, *q* I know not by
 that we see more in that wee see more what meanes.

After, he giveth the reason hereof.

Because it usually cometh to passe, that we see more in

After, he giveth the reason hereof.
 Because it usually cometh to passe,
 that we see more in

q And so they are corrected most easily in learning.

q imitate for the cause of amending [them.]

q to adde learned men, or also those who are skilfull by practice, to chuse those things, which may bring doubt, and to search diligently concerning everie kinde of duty, what liketh them.

q is wont almost,

q nature it selfe.

in others, than in our selves, if any thing bee done amisse. q Therefore

in learning, [those scholars] are very soone corrected, whose faults the masters doe count-
terfeit, to the end to amend them. Neither indeed is it a-

missequo to use the advice of learned or

experienced men,

for the chusing of

those things, wch

may be doubtfull,

& to enquire what

liketh them cōcer-

ning every kinde

of Dury. For the

greater part q is

usually wont to be

carried thither,

whither it is led by

q very nature. In

which

others than in our selves if any thing be amisse, and so do better amend our faults thereby.

This he confirmeth by an instance in scholars, who are the easlyest corrected, by their masters counterfeiting their faults, to let them see the ill favourednesse of them.

f. Hee directeth what meanes are best, to know what is the fittest in every kinde of dutie, and so in all doubtfull matters; viz. To use the advice of learned or experienced men hereir. Because the greater part of men is usually carried whither they are led by nature.

Therefore wee are not onely to consider what every one speaketh, but what he thinketh, & why he thinketh so; which wise men can give the best reason of, and so to use them chiefly.

And that we are to doe herein as painters, picturers and Poets; who are not only desirous to have their workes seene of all sorts, that if any thing be generally or justly disliked, it may be amended: but also to this end doe diligently inquire, what is amiss in the same. Even so that

which things wee are not onely to consider, what every one speaketh, but also what every one thinketh, and also for what cause each man thinketh so.

For as painters, and

q picturers, and also the true Poets

q are desirous to have their workes seene of all sorts of

men, that if any

thing bee q found

fault with by many,

it may be corrected; and they

doe diligently en-

quire both with

themselves and others,

what is

* done amiss in

it: So very many

things are to be

done

* judgeth.

* why each man thinks so, or what their reason is,

q they who frame signes or make pictures.

q everie one desireth his work to be considered of the common people.

q reprehended.

* examine.

* missed or faulty, therein.

qby the judgement. done and left un- we are to doe, or
 done of us, q ac- leave undone many
 cording to the things, according
 judgement of o- to the judgement
 thers, and also of others, and like-
 changed and q a- wise to change and
 mended. q As for to amend them.
 those things that
 are done q after
 the custome and
 civill qordinances,
 q there is no pre-
 cept to bee given
 of them: for they
 are precepts of
 themselves. Nei-
 ther ought any
 man to be qcarried
 with this errour,
 that if *Socrates* or
Aristippus have
 done or spoken a-
 ny thing against
 q civill order and
 custome, he should
 thinke the same
 thing to be lawfull
 for

q corrected.

q but what things
are done.

q by custome.

q institutions.

q nothing is to be
given in precepts
concerning them:
for these verie
things are pre-
cepts.

q led.

q the [usuall] manner
and civill custome.

6. Hee giveth this
rule: That in what
things we have cu-
stomes & civill or-
dinances to follow,
we carefully observe
them; For that they
are precepts of the
selves, and so need
not to have any pre-
cepts given of
them. And that we
are not by any pri-
vate mans ensam-
ple, though never
so wise or of the
greatest authoritie,
to be drawne to do
or speake any thing
against civill orders
and customes; no
not by the ensample
of *Socrates* or *Ari-
stippus*. Because
they might have

that liberty by their for himfelfe. For
great and diuine they obtained this
gifts, which wee liberty by their
cannot haue.

Yet here he giveth great and diuine
a caveat, That for gifts. But the q fa-
the fafhion & guife fhion of the Cy-
of the Cynicks, it is nicks is wholly to
wholly to be reje- be rejected. For it
cted, as contrary to is q contrarie to
all modeftie, with- modefty, without
out which nothing which * nothing
can be right or ho- can be right, no-
neft. Laftly, he gi- thing honeft.

ueth fome fewe o- q Moreover, we
ther particular di- ought to * obferue
rections, concer- and to * reverence
ning this point, and them, whole life

fo concludeth : as, hath been thorow-
1. That wee ought ly tryed in honeft
fpecially to obferue and great matters,
& reverence them [being men] q ha-
whole liues have ving a good opi-
bin thorowly tri- nion of the Com-
ed in honeft and mon-wealt, and
great matters ; having deferved or
chiefly being found deferving well
lovers of the com- [thereof,] [and]
mon-weale, having q ad-
alreadie deserved

well of the fame, &

* freedome of do-
ing and fpeaking as
they thought beft.
q whole reafon [or
guife] of the Cy-
nicks is to be utterly
caft out [or refused]
q an enemy to
thamefaftneffe.
* there can be no-
thing right, nor any
thing honeft.

q And.
* attend upon or
marke.
* honour.

q thinking or mea-
ning well.

q affected [or graced] with any honour or dignitie.

* to have olde age in high estimation.

* [we ought also] to &c.

q have a magistracie [or be in authoritie.]

q to have a choice [or difference] of a citizen, &c.

q privately [or as a private person] or publikely [as a public-like person.]

q To the sum [or summarily] that I may not deale of every one.

q reconcilment and consociation

q advanced to any honour or place of government : and

also * to give much unto olde age.

* To give place to those which beare office ;

q To make a difference betweene a citizen and a stranger ; and also [to consider] in the very stranger, whether hee came

q of his owne private businesse, or about the Common-wealths affaires.

q In a word (that I may not intreate of every

particular) we are bound to love, maintaine and preserve the common agreement, and soci-

advanced to any honour or place of government.

1. That wee much respect olde age.

3. That we yeeld & submit our selves to them that are in office.

4. That wee put a difference between citizens and strangers; and yet in the very strangers to consider whether they came of their owne private businesse, or about the affaires of the commonweale : And in a word to looke carefully to this generall, as comprehending many particulars.

That each knowe himselfe bound to love, maintaine & preserve the common agreement & societie of all sorts.

society of all man- of the whole kinde
kinde. of men.

Chap. 57.

Chap. 57.

*What q trades, q arts.
and q what kindes q what gaines.
of gaine are base :
what contrarily are
q honest.*

*q liberall, meet for
a free man [or an
honest man.]*

NOW concer-
ning *q trades* *q occupations and
and commodities, gaines [or manner
which are to bee of gaining.]*
accounted *q ho-* *q liberall.*
nest, which base,
q thus commonly *q we have received
wee have heard ; these things almost.*
First, those *q kinds* *q gaines.*
of gaines are dis-
allowed *q which* *q which run into
are odious to all, the hate of all.*
as [the gaine] of *q customers taking
q tol-farmers, and tol of havens.*
usurers.

T. in this chapter still pursuing this point of comlinefle and honestie, cometh to speake of trades & kindes of commodities ; and teacheth in the first place, what sorts of them are to bee accounted liberall & honest, what base according to the common esteeme of men.

And first hee reckoneth up sundry of those kindes which are disallowed as base and odious : As, 1. The trades and gaines of tol-farmers & usurers.

q all who serve for hire or wages.
 q whose labour and not their arts are bought.

q for the very hire in them.

q wages.

q obligation or presse-money.

q bondage.

q to be thought.

* of the baser sort.

q they sell straight way as by retayle.

q for they profit nothing.

q verie greatly.

q neither in truth is there any thing more filthie than vanitie.

q workemen or crafts-men.

q are employed in a base art[or trad]

usurers. The gaines also of q all hirelings, q whose labour is bought & not their cunning, are servile & base.

q For in them the very q hire is[as it were] the q bond of their q servitude.

They moreover, are q to be accounted * base, who buy of merchants that which q they presently retayle againe. q For these

gaine nought, unlesse they lye q exceedingly. q And indeed there is nothing more dishonest then lying. Also all kinde of q handicrafts men q serve in base occupations.

Nei ther

1. The gaines of all sorts of hirelings, whose labours are bought, & not their cunning. Because in them their hire is, as it were, the bond of their servitude.

3. They who buy of the merchants such commodities, as they presently retayle againe.

For that these usually gaine little or nothing, unlesse they lie exceedingly: than which he sheweth that nothing is more dishonest.

4. He teacheth that all kinde of handicrafts men serve in base occupations;

because that in ther in truth can
 truth, the shop can- the * shop have * workehouse.
 not have in it, any in it q any thing q any ingenuous
 thing beſeeming an beſeeming a gen- thing
 ingenuous or free- tle-man; and in no
 man.
 5. Above all other, wiſe are thoſe
 he accouret̃ thoſe trades to be ap-
 trades moſt baſe, proved which be
 which are for ſer- ſervers of plea-
 ving the pleaſures ſures; [as] * fiſh- * Trinkermen.
 of men: as of fiſh- mongers of great
 mongers, butchers, fiſh, butchers,
 cookes, pudding cookes, pudding-
 makers & the like, makers, fiſhermen,
 and more ſpecially as, Terence ſpea-
 perfumers, dancers, keth: adde to theſe,
 and all gaining by if q you * pleaſe, q it pleaſe you.
 dicing and ſuch un- * perſumers dan- * liſt.
 lawfull games. cers, and all * play oyles, or perſumers.
 In the ſecond place at dice. But in * players at playes
 he ſheweth what what q ſciences ſtanding on hazard,
 arts are to bee ac- there is either grea- q arts.
 counted liberall and ter wiſdome, or
 honeſt. * no ſmall gaine * great gaine.
 As firſt, All arts and is ſought, as Phy-
 ſciences, wherein ſicke, q caſting q the art of buil-
 there is either grea- plots for buildings, ding or carpantrie,
 ter wiſdome requi- the
 red, or no ſmall gain
 ſought: as namely
 phyſicke, caſting
 plots for buildings;

q honest.

* for whose degree they are convenient.

q thought.

q copious, well fraught.

q conveying to us.

q imparting it to many without vanity or vaine words.

* satisfied.

q deepe.

* change or be changed into lands

the learning of *q* worthy things, these are honest for them * to whose estate they agree. Merchandize also, if it be small, is to bee *q* accounted base : but if it bee great and *q* abundant, *q* bringing in from every side many commodities, & *q* dispersing the same into many mens hands, without lying, it is not much to bee dispraised. And furthermore, if it being * sariate or rather contēt with gaine, as it hath oft comne from the *q* sea to the haven, so [it shall be take] it selfe from

and so all manner of learning of honest & worthe matters; for that these are comly for them, for whose state and degree they are convenient.

2. Merchandize, which howsoever being small, it is accounted but base ; yet if it be great, bringing in commodities from foraine countries, & dispersing the same into many mens hands for the common good, so that it be without lying, is not much to bee dispraised, but rather commended.

And especially if the merchant, being there, by sufficiently enriched, shall contēt himselfe and buy

lands & possessions from the haven and possessions to
therewith, to settle *q* to lands and pos- settle thereon.
himselfe thereu- sessions, it seemeth *q* into fields.
pon, for the good of
his countrie. * that it may bee * to desire due
commended * by commendation.
very good right. * verie justly.

3. Of all things *q* For of all things *q* for nothing of
from which gaines from which any all things.
are sought, he pre- [gaine] is *q* sought, *q* gotten.
ferreth husbandrie, nothing is better
for that nothing then *q* husbandry: *q* tillage of the
yeeldeth greater nothing *q* yeelding ground.
increase, nothing greater increase, *q* more plentifull.
more pleasant, no- nothing more
thing meetter for a *q* pleasant, nothing *q* swee.
free borne man. meetter for *q* a free *q* a free man.
borne man. * Con- * whercof.

But for this matter of husbar drie, hee
referrcth us to his booke *de senectute*,
where he hath writ- sufficiently spoken *q* spoken things
ten of the delight know.
of it at large, that *q* in our book cal- *q* in Cato the elder
from thence we led *Cato maior* [or or the elder Cato:
may learne whato- *de senectute*] from
ever we desire in thence you * shall * may fetch.
this behalfe. take *q* whatsoever *q* what things shall
shall appertaine to appertaine to this
this place. place.

Chap.

- q* honest. the learning of and so all manner of
q worthy things, learning of honest
 these are honest & worthie matters;
 for them to whose comly for them, for
 estate they agree. whose state and de-
 Merchandize also, gree they are con-
 if it be small, is to venient.
q thought. 2. Merchandize,
 bee *q* accounted which howsoever
 base: but if it bee being small, it is ac-
 great and *q* abun- counted but base;
 dant, *q* bringing yet if it be great,
 in from every side bringing in com-
 many commodi- modities from for-
 ties, & *q* dispersing raine countries, &
 the same into ma- dispersing the same
 ny mens hands into many mens
 without lying, it is hands for the com-
 not much to bee mon good, so that
 dispraised. And it be without lying,
 furthermore, if it is not much to bee
 being * sariate or dispraised, but ra-
 rather contēt with ther commended.
 gaine, as it hath
 oft comne from
 the *q* sea to the ha- And e-
 ven, so { it shall specially if the mer-
 * change or be * betake } it selfe chant, being there-
 changed into lands from him selfe and buy

lands & possessions from the haven and possessions to
therewith, to settle *q* to lands and pos- settle thereon.
himselfe thereu- sessions, it seemeth *q* into fields.
pon, for the good of
his countrie.

* that it may bee * to deserve due
commended * by commendation.
very good right. * verie justly.

3. Of all things *q* For of all things *q* for nothing of
from which gainea from which any all things.
are sought, he pre- [gaine] is *q* sought, *q* gotten.
ferreth husbandrie, nothing is better
for that nothing then *q* husbandry: *q* tillage of the
yeeldeth greater ground.
increase, nothing nothings *q* yeelding *q* more plentifull.
more pleasant, no- greater increase,
thing meeter for a nothing more
free borne man. *q* pleasant, nothing *q* swee .

meeter for *q* a free *q* a free man.
* whereof.

But for this matter borne man. * Con-
of husbar drie, hee- cerning which, be-
referreth us to his cause wee *q* have *q* spoken things
booke *de senectute*, know.
where he hath writ- sufficiently spoken
ten of the delight *q* in our book cal- *q* in Cato the elder
of it at large, that led *Cato maior* [or
from thence we *de senectute*] from
may learne whatio- thence you * shall * may fetch.
ever we desire in take *q* whatsoever *q* what things shall
this behalfe. shall appertaine to appertaine to this
this place.

Chap.

Chap. 58.

Of two honest things, whether is the more honest.

q it seemeth expounded sufficiently.

q be drawne or proceede.
q are of honestie.

q But a contention of those very things which are honest, may oft fall out.

q whether of two honest things is the honestest.
q which place is pretermitted by Panetius.

q floweth or streameth.

Chap. 58.

T. having finished the first maine question concerning honesty, to wit, how Duty may be derived from the foure

BUT *q* I thinke it sufficiently declared, how duties should *q* be derived, from those parts which *q* belong to honesty. *q* Yet of those same things which are honest, there may fall out oft times a question, & a comparison *q* of two honest things, whether is the honestest: which point is passed over of Panetius. For whereas all honesty *q* springeth out of foure *q* heads

chiefe fountaines thereof, and also whether the thing to be deliberated of be honest or dishonest; commeth now to the second question, arising from the comparing of honest things amongst themselves: viz. Of two honest things propounded whether is the more honest; which point hee sheweth as before, to have bin omitted by Panetius.

Secondly, he giveth the reason hereof: That all honestie springeth from our of these foure foun-

gaires, viz. Pru- ^g heads, wherof ^g parts or fountains
 dence, Iustice, For- one is of know-
 titude, Temperace; ledge, another is
 that in the making of ^g community, ^g common societie
 choice of what du- the third of ^g mag- ^g valorousnesse or
 ties we are to per- nimity, the couragiousnesse,
 forme, we use oft to fourth of ^g mode- ^g temperance.
 compare these ^g ration; it is ^g of ^g necessarie that
 mong themselves. necessarie, that in the be compared
 And first he teach- chusing of Dutie, oft together in chu-
 eth, that those du- sing dutie,
 ties are more agree- these be oft compa-
 able to nature with red amongst them-
 spring from our selves. ^g We think ^g It pleaseth there-
 communie with others, viz. from fore, these duties to
 Iustice, than those therfore that those
 which are fetched Duties are more a- be more apt to na-
 from prudence; and greeable to nature, ture.
 so to bee preferred which [are ^g bor- ^g drawne.
 before them. rowed] from com- ^g common societie,
 This he confirmeth by sundry argumēt- ^g munity, than those
 from the necessarie which are fetched ^g drawne or deri-
 of humane societie, from knowledge. ved.
 from which the du- And that may bee
 ties of Iustice doe confirmed by ^g proved.
 procede. Which this argument: be-
 societie he sheweth cause, ^g if a wise ^g if that life shall
 to be so necessarie, man shall happen happen to a wise
 That if a wise man on such a life, that man,
 should happen on
 such a life, that hee

q flowing plenty
or store.

* all manner of sub-
stance.

* advice.

* view.

q knowledgs.

q be so great.

q cannot.

* have the sight of
a man.

q he would depart
out of life, or wish
to die.

* tearme or name.

q sapientia.

q For we under-
stand another cer-
taine prudence,
which the Greekes
call *φρόνησις*, which
is the science, &c.

hee bee enriched
with q abundance
of * all things, al-
though hee con-
sider with himselfe
with the greatest
* leasure, and * be-
hold all things
which are worthy
q to bee knowne;
yet if his solitari-
nesse q should be so
great, that hee
q could not * see a
man, q he would
wish to be out of
this life. And that
wisdomē wch the
Greekes call *σοφία*,
is the princeesse of
all vertues.

q For we take
prudence, which
the Greekes call
φρόνησις, to be ano-
ther certain thing,
which is the know-
ledge which is defined

should be enriched
with all abundance
of good things, and
should have both
abilitie and leasure
enough to contem-
plate and consider
of all things worthy
the knowledge of
mortall man; yet if
his solitarinesse,
should be such that
hee could not see a
man, he would wish
much rather to die
than to live.

Secondly, from that
wisdomē which is
called in Greeke
σοφία, and in La-
tine *sapientia*, from
which these duties
of iustice and com-
munitie are like-
wise derived:

This wisdomē hee
sheweth to bee the
princeesse of all ver-
tues, and distinct
from that which is
called in Latine
prudencia, and in
Greeke *φρόνησις*,
which is defined

thus viz. a know- ledge of things to
ledge of things, be *q* desired, and *q* earnestly defend.
meet to be desired [things] *q* meet to *q* to be fled.
or eschewed:

Where as this wis- be eschewed,
dome called *sapien-* But that wisdom
tia, is the know- (which I named
ledge of divine and the princeſſe) is the
humane things, *q* knowledge of di- science of heaven-
wherein is contain- vine and humane ly and worldly
ned the communi- things : wherein things, or things
ty of Gods and is contained the belonging to Gods
men, and their so- *q* community of and men.
cietie amongst *q* common conver-
themselves. sing or intercourse,

Whence he reaso- and their society a- or fellowship.
neth thus :

If that vertue of mongst themselves.
wisdom from which [Now] if * that be * that vertue,
these duties pro- the greatest (* as * as certainly it is,
ceed be the greatest it is indeed) *q* it *q* it is necessary that
and as it were the must needs follow dutie to be the
princeſſe of all ver- that the Dutie greatest which is
tues, that then these Dutie drawne from com-
duties flowing frō which is borrowed munitie,
it must needs be the from community,
greatest also. And is the greatest also. *q* view [or consid-
that they doe pro- For knowledge & deration.]
ceed hence, her *q* contemplation * naturall thing.
proveh further, for *q* of * Nature *q* is af- *q* is in a certain
that the contempla- ter a sort *q* may- *q* lame and beguin
tion and knowledge
of nature is may-

X 2 med [only.]

- q doing of things. if no performance of deeds follow :
 q doing is scene especially. and that q performance doth especially appeare, in defending the commodities of others, and so appertaineth to the societie of man-kind; & therefore to bee preferred before meere knowledge.
 q commodities of men. then appertaineth to the societie of man-kind; and for that cause, is to be preferred before knowledge. And every q best disposed man doth declare and shew the same thing, q when it comes unto the point. For who is so q studiously set in q the searching out and knowing the nature of things; that if q tidings q should bee brought him
 * this communie of men. Thirdly, he proveth it by the examples of the best disposed men; who use to cast aside all duties of getting knowledge, whatsoever, that they may helpe their countrie in any extreme perill. For example, he asketh this question, who there is so studiously set in searching out the nature of things, if tidings should be brought him of a
 q best man.
 q in verie deed.
 q desirous.
 q through seeing.
 q the perill & danger of [his] countrie which he might &c. q should be brought

Suddaine, of some of a sodaine, of the sodainly to him
 great imminent perill and hazard handling [or trea-
 perill of his coun- of his countrey, ting upon] and
 trie, which hee of his countrey, viewing matters
 might bee able to which he might be most worthie [his]
 prevent; though he able to succour & knowledge.
 were contempla- helpe; although
 ting matters most he were handling
 worthe of all other and contemplating
 to be knowne, matters most wor-
 which would not yett cast aside all thy q to be know- q knowledge.
 those studies; yea al- en, would hee not
 though he thought leave and q cast a- q cast away.
 hee should bee able side all q these [stu- q those things.
 by his searching, to dies;] yea although
 number the starres, he thought q that q himself to be able
 and to measure the greatnesse of the hee was able to
 greatnesse of the world, number the stars,
 and to measure the
 greatnesse of the

And moreover, for worlds? q And he q And the same man
 that hee would not would do the very would do this thing
 onely doe this for same thing in the
 his countrey, but cause or perill of
 even in the verie cause of the perill [his] q parents or q parent.
 cause of the perill of his parents, or friends. By which
 friends. Whence things q wee may q it is understood.
 he concludeth evi- plainly gather
 dently againe, that

¶ the duties of
Iustice.

¶ more auncient.
¶ to be preferred or
put before.

¶ Also they them
selves.

¶ occupied or im-
ployed.

¶ yet have not.

¶ gone backe or
departed.

¶ to make them the
better citizens, &c.

¶ that the duties of
Iustice which ap-
pertain to the pro-
fit of men, than
which nothing
ought to be dearer
unto man, ¶ are to
be preferred before
the studies and du-
ties of knowledge.

¶ They moreover,
whose studies and
whole life hath
beene ¶ spent in
the knowledge of
things, ¶ have not
yet withdrawne
themselves from
increasing the pro-
fits and commodi-
ties of men. For
they also have in-
structed many, to
the end that they
might bee the bet-
ter citizens, and the
more profitable in
their

the duties of Iustice
appertaining to the
profit of mankind,
than which nothing
can be dearer unto
us, are to be prefer-
red before duties of
knowledge.

Fourthly, hee fur-
ther demonstrateth
it by other generall
examples in this
kind. As,
First, in that they
whose studies and
whole life have bin
spent in seeking
out the knowledge
of things, yet have
not withdrawne
themselves from in-
deavouring to in-
crease the commo-
dities of men.
As those who have
instructed many, to
make them the bet-
ter citizens, & more
profitable to the

Common-weales. their Common-

Of this sort hee gi- weales; as *Lyfias*

ueth sundrie ensam- the Pithagorean

ples 2 as, [instructed] the

1. Of *Lyfias* the Thebane *Epami-*

Pithagorean Phi- *nondas*; *Plato*

losopher, who in- taught *Dion* the

structed *Epami-* *Syracusan*, & *ma-*

nondas of Thebes. ny other have done

2. Of *Plato*, who racusan and many many moe. And

taught *Dion* the other have done

Syracusan and many whatsoeuer bene-

the like. the like. fit wee our selves

3. Hee sheweth for himselfe, that what- have brought unto

soeuer benefish hee the Comonwealth

had brought to the (if so bee that wee

commonweale (if have brought any

he had brought any thing) wee have

at all) he had attain- attained unto it,

ed unto it by be- being instructed

ing himself instru- by teachers, and

cted by teachers, furnished

and so furnished with learning.

with learning. Secondly, in that

such doe not onely onely instruct and

instruct them that teach them that are

are desirous of lear- desirous of lear-

ning, whilst they ning, while they

are

* a follower of Pi-
thagoras; or a Pi-
thagorean Philoso-
pher.

* Epaminondas of
Thebes.

* Siracusa.

q many [have
taught] many.

q what soeuer
thing.

q come unto it, in-
structed and adorn-
ed by teachers
and learning.

q Neither onely
they living and pre-
sent do instruct and
teach &c.

are alive and present; but they attaine the very same thing also, even after their death by [their] monuments of learning. are alive and present with them; but they also effect the same even after their death much more effectually, by the monuments of their learning left behind them.

¶ for neither.

¶ place.

¶ pretermitted or over-passed by them.

¶ appertaine to the lawes, which

[might appertain] to the manners, &c.

¶ government.

¶ quiet studies for our businesse or commodity.

¶ do confer especially.

¶ their prudence and understanding.

¶ Neither is there any ¶ point ¶ omitted of them, which might ¶ concerne the lawes, customs and ¶ discipline of the Commonweal: so that they may seeme to have imployed their ¶ leisure unto our affaires.

Thus they themselves being given to the studies of learning & wisdom, ¶ do chiefly bestow ¶ their wisdom, prudence and understanding, to the

Thirdly, in that they omit no point which might concerne the lawes, customs & discipline of the commonweale: so that they may seeme to have imployed all their leisure for the benefit of posteritie.

Thus he sheweth, that they being given to the studies of learning, bestowed all their wisdom and understanding for the good of the commonweale, and so did ever preferre duties belonging to the societie of men.

com-

Fourthly, he pro- comodity of men.
 veth it by this in- And for that cause
 stance, That for this also, it is better to
 cause alone it is bet- * speake copiously
 ter to speake copi- so that it be wisely.
 ously, so it be wise- than to q meditate
 ly, than to meditate even most wittily
 most wittily with- without utterance;
 out utterance. q for that, medita-
 Because meditation tion serveth onely
 serveth only within within ones-selfe,
 ones selfe, but elo- but eloquence q ser-
 quence serveth for veth for the bene-
 the good of all with fit of all those, with
 whom we converse, whom we be jo-
 and many others. ned in q common
 Firsty, because wee societie. And as the
 could not devise swarmes of Bees
 nor effect matters q doe cluster toge-
 so well alone as with ther not to this end
 others. This hee to make combes,
 proveth by a first q but being swar-
 similitude taken from ming by nature
 Bees: That as they they worke their
 swarme together, hony combs; So
 not to the end to & much more also,
 make combs, but men being gathe-
 being thus swar- red
 ming by nature doe
 make their combs
 more easily; even so
 and much more al-
 so, men being of a

* utter the mind
 plentifully.

* discreetly.

q to thinke [or con-
 ceive] most sharply
 without eloquence.

q because cogitati-
 on [or concept is
 turned or impley-
 ed] onely in it selfe,
 but eloquence.

q comprehendeth
 those with whom
 &c.

q communitee.

q are not gathered
 together for the
 cause of framing
 hony combs.

q but whereas they
 are congregable [or
 soone assembled]
 by nature they fa-
 shion [their] combs.

* of an assembling.

or sociable nature,
do adde the cunning
of doing and
deuiling.

¶ of defending.

¶ of the societie
of mankinde.

¶ touch or be joy-
ned with.

¶ communitie and
neighbourhood.

* beaftlinesse.

* beaftly.

¶ confociation.

red by nature, doe use their cunning in doing and deuiling. Therefore unlesse that vertue which consisteth

¶ in defending
men, that is to say,

¶ in maintaining
the society of man-
kinde, ¶ doe meet

with the know-
ledge of things, it

may seeme a lone-
wandering and bar-
re knowledge. And

in like manner,
greatnesse of cou-
rage, separate from

humane ¶ society &
friendship, is a cer-
taine * savagenesse

and * untractable
cruelty. So it com-
meth to passe, that

the ¶ accompanying
together of men &
com-

sociable nature, do
use their cunning in
doing and deuiling
much the better &
more speedily.

Sixty, in that
knowledge separate
from justice or im-
ployment for the
common good, re-

maineth fruitlesse
and barren. And so
likewise fortitude

or valour separate
from humane socie-
tie and friendship,

¶ if it be not used
for the good of o-
thers, is nothing
else but savagenesse

& cruelty. Whence
he concludeth,
Duties appertai-
ning to the so-
cietie of men to

be far greater than
the studies of know-
ledge.

Lastly he an-
swereth an objecti-
on of some, who af-
firmed, that we use
duties appertaining
to societie, for our
owne necessitie (for
that wee could not
effect nor attain
without others,
those things which
nature might de-
sire) and not for the
good of others.

Whereunto he an-
sweres; That if this
were true, then if a
man had all things
necessary for liv-
ing, ministered (as
it were) by the
grace of God, with-
out any labour or
helpe of others; if
the same man were
of a good wit, hee
omitting all other
business would

common society,
far surmounts the
study of know-
ledge. Neither is it

true which is said
of *q* some, *q* that *q* certaine.
therefore this com- *q* therefore this.

munity and society
with men, *q* is for *q* to be for the ne-
cessitie. the necessity of

life, because wee
could not attaine
nor effect without *q* bring to passe,

others those things
which nature might
desire. For if so be

that all things
which appertaine
to the food & fur-^{ment} ornament of life,

were *q* ministered unto us *q* afforded or found.
as is were, by the

q grace of God, as *q* divine rod.

they say; the every
one *q* of a good wit, *q* of the best wit [or
of an excellent wit]
q omitting all other *q* all businesses o-
mitted or set aside

q employ

¶ place or bestow.

¶ he would.

¶ to maintaine the
conjunction, &c.

¶ is contained.

¶ employ himselfe wholly in knowledge and science. But it is not so. For he would both fly solitarinesse, and seek a companion of his study; and ¶ would both teach and learne, also heare and speake. [And] therefore e-very dutie which appertaineth ¶ to the maintenance of the neighbour- hood and society of men, is to be pre-ferred before that duty which ¶ consisteth in know-ledge and science, wholly employ him- selfe in knowledge and science. But he teacheth that this is false; Because even such a man would still fly solitarinesse, and seeke some compa- nion for his studies, and would desire still both to teach and learne, to heare and speake. And therefore upon all these grounds he concludeth this point, That everie dutie which apper- taineth to the maintenance of humane societie, is to be preferred be- fore such as consist in knowledge and science.

Chap.

Chap. 59.

Here T-proceedeth to speak of the comparing of duties; and first somewhat in comparing the duties of Iustice & Temperance, sheweth that this question may chance bee propounded; Whether duties of societie be ever to be preferred before others of moderation & temperance. Whereunto he answereth, that hee thinketh not so; and giveth his reason, for that there are some things partly so dishonest partly so hainous, that a wise man would not doe them, no not for the preserving of his countrie. Of this sort hee saith, that Possidonius hath gathered many certaine where of are so odious that they are shame-

Chap. 59.

Whether Iustice or Temperance be better

THis question That preadventure may peradventure be well asked, whether this community which is most agreeable especially apt, to nature, be also ever to be preferred before moderation and temperance? *q* modestie. *q* I thinke not so. *q* It pleaseth not. *q* certaine things. For there are some things partly so dishonest, partly so filthy. so hainous, that a wise mā would not doe them, no not *q* for the preserving of his country. *q* for the cause of preserving of, &c. *Posidonius* hath gathered many of them together; but certain of them so vile & so filthy, that they may

* filthie or dishonest.

¶ Not any man therefore shall undertake these things for the cause of the commonweale.

¶ them to be undertaken.

* sake.

¶ hath it selfe more commodiously.

¶ a time cannot happen.

* benefit or further.

¶ such kinde of Duties to excell especially, which is kept in the societie of men.

¶ considerate dealing.

may seme q shamefull even to be spoken. ¶ These things therefore ought no man to undertake for the cause of the Commonweale, neither indeed would the Commonweale

have them undertaken for her cause.

But this matter stands so much in better case, for that there can befall no time, that it should

* concerne the Commonweale, for a wise man to do any of them. Wherefore let this be concluded in choosing of Duties,

¶ that such kind of duties excell most, which concerne the societie of men. For ¶ wise performance will

full to be uttered.

Now, these he teacheth that a wise man ought not to undertake, no not for the cause of the commonweale, neither that indeed the commonweale would have them undertaken for her cause. But for these he sheweth that there cannot befall any time wherein it can concerne the good of the commonweal for a wise man to doe any of them.

And therefore, notwithstanding all these, he concludeth this point concerning the choosing of duties;

That evermore such duties be preferred which concerne the good of others; And that wise performance of our actions will

ever follow know-
ledge & prudence.
Whereupon it com-
meth to passe, that
considerately to per-
forme our actions
for the good of o-
thers, is more worth
than to meditate
wisely. So he shur-
teth up this whole
matter as sufficien-
ly layed open, that
in the chusing of
duties it is not diffi-
cult to see what eve-
ry one is to preferre
Lastly, for the en-
ding of this whole
treatise, & the right
performance and
preferring of du-
ties, he adviseth to
remember that what
was taught before;
That in the com-
mon societie, there
are degrees of du-
ties, whereby it may
be best understood
what duties are e-
specially to be pre-
ferred and per-
formed first and
chiefely.

will follow know-
ledge & prudence.

So it commeth to

passe, that *q* to per-

forme [our] actions

considerately, is of

more [worth] than

q wisely to medi-

tate. *q* And thereof

thus farre. For *q* this

point is sufficiently

layd open, that it is

not *q* difficult in the

searching out of

Duty, to see *q* what

every one is to pre-

ferre. Moreover, in

q that very comon

society, there bee

degrees of Duties,

of which it may be

understood what

excelleth every o-

ther: that the first

[Duties] be due

to the immortall

Gods, the second, to

[our]

q to doe advisedly.

q to devise or think

of, or ponder wi-

sely.

q And indeed let

these things [suf-

fice] hitherto.

q the place it selfe

is set open.

q a difficult thing.

perceive.

q what is to be pre-

ferred of everie one

or what [duty] is to

be preferred before

everie other.

q that the commu-

nitie it selfe.

q whereby it may be

knowne what one

is above the other

so as.

q next.

¶ furthermore the
rest are due to o-
thers by degrees.

¶ All some.

¶ to the rest.

¶ disputed briefly,
or handled shortly.

¶ how to be won.

¶ to doubt that
thing.

¶ two honest things
being, &c.

¶ set before them.

¶ more honest.

¶ [common] place.

¶ omitted of &c.

¶ goes forward to
those things which
remain.

¶ the residue of
series.

[our] country, the
third to [our] pa-
rents, & so forth
by degrees. All the
rest are due & to o-
thers.

Of which
things & thus brief-
ly discoursed of, it
may bee under-
stood, & how men

are wont not only
to doubt, who-
ther a thing be ho-
nest or dishonest,

but also & of two
honest things pro-
pounded, whether

is the & honest-
er. This & point (as I
said before) is & o-
verslipped by Pa-
rattine. But now let
us & proceed to
the rest.

As first those which
are due to God &
next, such as are
due to our coun-
try; thirdly, those
to our parents, and
so the rest accord-
ing to degrees as
they are due to o-
thers in order.

And thus finally he
showeth, that wee
may easily under-
stand by the things
handled before,
both these questi-
ons, whether men
are wont to doubt,
viz. firstly, whether a
thing be honest or
dishonest. Second-
ly, of two honest
things propounded,
whether is the more
honest; which was
overslipped by Pa-
rattine. And so par-
attine himselfe
proceeds to that
which followeth.

FINIS.

The first Booke
of
TVLLIES OFFICES

Translated Grammatically:

And also

According to the propriety of
our English Tongue;

For the more speedy and certain attai-
ning of the singular Learning contained in the
same, to further to a pure Latin stile, and to ex-
presse the mind more easily, both in
English and Latine.

Done chiefly for the good of Schooles; to be
used according to the directions in the Admonition
to the Reader, and more fully in *Ludus lit.* or
Grammar-Schoole.

L O N D O N,

Printed by the Assignes of Thomas Man, &c.

1 6 3 1.

q motion or passion.

* devised & thought of before.

* prepared for.

* enough hath bin spoken.

q bringing in or offering injurie.

pen upon some sodaine q moode, than such as are done * being premeditated & * prepared. And thus have wee spoken of q doing injurie. ration, viz. Because those injuries which are done upon any such sudden passion are lighter and be accounted less than those which are done upon deliberation and are were of set purpose

Chap. 12.

Here hearseth the causes from whence the second kinde of injustice may arise.

q spring or growe.

q And.

q moe.

q pretermittig.

* to defend one another.

q forsaking.

q they will not.

1 q **M**oreover Tully declareth there are this chapter. 1. That there may be sundrie causes of the second kinde of injustice, viz. of omitting the justice of our neighbour. 2. He setteth downe

wont to be q many causes of q omitting [our] * defence, and of q leaving [our] Dutie.

2 For either q men are

Because of those causes which are unwilling *q* to take upon themselves or undergoe. *q* ennuities or ill will. *q* c. n.
 upon another the ill will of members, or of their travell or charges. *q* charges : or else they bee so hindered with negligence, sloth, *q* idleness, or else by their owne private studies or businesses.

that they suffer them to bee *for- *helplesse. taken, whom they ought *q* to defend. *q* to save harmelesse.

He warneth that men doe not therefore take heed, must looke. that wee doe not thinke, *q* that to *q* lest it be not sufficient, which is spoken *q* of Plato *q* in Plato concerning the Philosophers. *q* in Plato concerning the Philosophers. *q* [them] to be just therefore. *q* conversant or exercised. *q* tracing or searching out ing out of the truth.

q depise.

q account for nothing or make no reckoning of.

q most part of men.
*greedily seeke after.

q concerning which.

q to fight with swords, contend or braule.

q offering injurie.

q letted by a desire of getting learning.

q in truth he thinketh.

q them uot about to come to the com-

out the truth, and because they *q* con-
temne and *q* set at

nought those things which *q* most men doe *vehemently desire, [&]

q for which they are wont *q* to be at daggers drawing amongst themselves.

For whilst they attaine the one kinde of justice, that they hurt no man in

q doing of wrong, they fall into the other; for being

q hindred by the studie of learning, they forsake [the]

whom they ought to defend. There-

fore *q* hee indeed thinketh, *q* that

they would not enter into the affaires

men so dote upon and so leave the fence of others.

And then giving the reason here. Because here whilst that they avoid the one kinde of injustice, they hurt none other, viz. to forsake them whom they ought to defend.

And that therefore they cannot drawne to app

of

ce in the comon- of the common monweale, or to in-
 ale, but by con- weale, q unlessse termeddle in.
 aint; Whereas of they were compel- q but compelled or
 e contrarie, hee led. But it were inforced, or were
 cheth, that all * more equall to * more reason that
 th service for the be done q volunta- it should be done.
 od of others, e- rily. For whatso- q with good will,
 ecially for the co- ever is q rightly without constraint.
 onwealth, ought q well done.
 be voluntary, & done, q the same is q that same is just,
 at then onely it is so, if it be done vo-
 lt. thereby just, if it be luntarily.
 ter, he rehearseth voluntarie. There
 ne other causes be also, who either
 y men use to for a * desire of * love.
 we the defence or * saving their sub- * looking to their
 ing of others: as stance, or q for household affaires.
 saving their some hatred to q by a certaine hate
 stance, or upon some hatred to or some grudge.
 hatred, grudge men, do say, q that q themselves to do,
 he like. they q looke unto or to follow.
 d yet, that they their own busines; q may be thought.
 this end pretend lest they q should
 their own businesse, seeme to do wrong
 lest they should to any man: who
 m to doe wrong whilst they are free
 others. from the one kind
 of injustice, doe
 runne into the o-
 that hereby they ther. For they for-
 fake

* fellowship.

q nothing of study,
nothing of labour,
nothing of sub-
stance.

q Because therefore
after we have decla-
red the two kindes
of injustice.

q either kinde.

q to judge easily.

* love or flatter our
selves too much.

q it is hard to take
care of other mens
matters.

q Terentian
Chremes.

q thinketh nothing.

sake the * society
of life, because

they bestowe q no
studie upon it, no
labour, nor sub-
stance. q Seeing

thē that two kinds
of injustice being
propounded, wee

have adioyned the
causes of q both
kindes, and have
set downe those

things before, in
which justice is co-
tained, we shall be
able q easily to jud-
ge (unlesse we will

exceedingly * fa-
vour our selves)
what is the dutie
of every season. For

q the care of other
mens matters is
difficult, although
that q Chremes in

Terence q accoun-
teth

for sake the soc
of life, whilst
will neither be
any of the r sta
travell or substa
for the helping
others.

By these th
rightly consid
he teacheth
men may be
easily to judge
duty is requir
every time ag
son; unlesse the
too partiall
vermuch lov
themselves.

Yetherin be
eth that it is a
hard matter, to
care of other
businesse as
ought: bow
Chremes in
rence thinketh

ther
give
here
for
more
those
happ
ves,
which
becau
other
as it
way
owne

2

2

4

lastly,
son, h
eth th
such w
who fo
to doe
whereo
th, wh
ight on
because
apparen

otherwise; and after
 giveth the reason
 thereof, which is this;
 for that wee have
 more feeling of
 those things which
 happen to our sel-
 ves, than of those
 which befall others;
 because we behold
 other mens estates
 as it were a great
 way off, but our
 owne more neerely.
 1
 2
 2
 4
 Lastly, for a conclu-
 sion, he commen-
 deth that precept of
 such wise men, as,
 who forbid a man
 to doe any thing
 whereof hee doubt-
 eth, whether it bee
 right or wrong.
 because the right is
 apparent of it selfe,
 teth nothing, ap-
 pertaining to man,
 to bee * strange to
 him. q Neverthe-
 lesse, because wee
 perceive and feele
 those things more,
 which happen un-
 to our selves, q ei-
 ther luckily, or un-
 fortunately, than
 those things [which
 q happen] to o- q befall.
 thers, which wee
 behold, * as it * as ye would say.
 were, a great way
 off; we judge o-
 therwise of them,
 than of our selves.
 Wherefore they
 q give a good pre- q command or
 cept, who forbid teach well
 to doe any thing,
 which you doubt
 of, whether it bee
 right or wrong.
 For, q the right it q equitie it selfe.
 * shi-

* is apparant.
 q by it selfe.
 q declareth.
 q a cogitation of
 injurie.

* shineth q of it selfe: but doubting
 q signifieth q an ima-
 gination of wrong.

but the verie dou-
 ting intimateth
 imagination of
 wrong.

Chap. 13.

Tully teacheth

* that duties are.
 q for circumstances
 q officious.

q it be departed.

* Duties to be ca-
 ried q in regard of
 circumstances; and
 that which was q a-
 greable to Dutie, to
 be made against du-
 ty two waies especie-
 ally: if either q there
 be a departing from
 profit, or the lesse
 profitable be prefer-
 red before the more
 profitable; moreover
 to be sometimes be-
 sides Dutie to stick
 too much in q the
 strict words of law.

q Apex is taken for
 the highest top of
 anything; here for
 nice quiddities or
 extremities of law.

But

In this chapter he teacheth, 1. That Duty may bee altered in regard of circumstances; & that which seemeth meet for a just and good man, may become cleane contrarie; as for example; That it may sometimes bee lawfull & meet, not to restore a thing committed to us in just; as also, not to performe a promise made to mad men: & sometimes to deny those things, which otherwise truth & faithfull dealing would require.

And then giveth the reason heereof. because it is meet in all such matters

BUt the * time * seasons. doth *q* fall out, *q* fall out often. when those things which seeme most *q* meete for a just *q* worthy of. man, and him whom wee call a good man, are changed & * made * become cleane contrarie: *q* as, not otherwise. to restore a thing *q* as, it may be just, committed to us &c. to keepe; also not to performe a promise made to a *q* mad man; and *q* furious. sometimes to deny and not keep those things which appertaine to truth and unto fidelity, may be just. For *q* it is meet *q* that *q* it becommeth. they bee referred *q* [them] to be referred. to those foundations of justice, **F** which

* that hurt be done
to no man.

* next
q it be served to the
common profit,
viz that the com-
mon commoditie
be preferred.

q duty is changed
when as &c.

* remains not.
q the same.

q for some promise
may fall out and
covenant.

q that it may be un-
profitable to be
effected.

* that.

* reported in flo-
ries.

* performed.

which I laid down be limited by these
in the beginning: two foundations of
justice layd down

1. First * that no
man be hurt; * and
then that q there
be a respect had to
the common com-
moditie. q When
these things are
changed by the
time, Dutie is
changed, that * it is
not alwayes q alike.

q For there may
fall out some pro-
mise & covenant,
q which to be per-
formed, may bee
unprofitable ei-
ther to him to
whom it is promi-
sed, or else to him

* who promised
it. For if (as it
* is in the Fables)
Neptune had not
* done that, which
he

before; viz.
1. That no man
hurt. 2. That there
be a respect had
to the generall good
or commonwealth.
And that so, duties
may bee altered ac-
cording to time
and occasions
these fall out.

2. He sheweth what
promises and cove-
nants a man is
bound to keepe.
As first, such pro-
mises as the per-
formance of pro-
mises either to be
hurtfull either to
him to whom the
are promised, or
him that hath pro-
mised them.

This he illustrateth
by the evill example
came upon the per-
formance of the
promise which
Neptune made

Theseus for granting him three wishes. The last whereof was the death of his owne son Hippolitus; which in his furie he had desired: which promise being performed accordingly, hee fell into most grievous lamentation.

he had promised to * See the marginal note in the latine bookes.
Theseus, *Thes.* had not beene *q* bereft of his sonne *Hippolitus*. For of (his) three * wishes (as * bootes. it is written) this was the third, which *q* in his fury hee * wished * he being angry: * asked. * for the death. concerning the death of *Hippolitus*: which being obtrayned, hee fell into *q* most grievous lamentation. *q* the greatest mourning.

Hence hee concluded, that neyther such promises are to be kept; nor such as may more hurt him who promised, than they can benefit him to whom they are promised.

Therefore *q* neither are those promises to be * kept, * neither those promises are. * fulfilled. which are unprofitable to them, to whom you have *q* made them; nor *q* promised. if they hurt you more, than they *q* benefit him to *q* profit. whom you have

F 2 * pro-

* made the promise.

* hat the greater losse should be.

* harme.

q put before or preferred to the lesse.

q shall appoint or promise.

* that you will come to be an advocate or counsellour to speake for another in his matter which is in hand.

q doe.

* promised.

q it was promised.

q depart.

q complaine himselfe to be left destitute.

* promised. It is

against Durie, the

greater * damage

to be q rather ad-

mitted than the

lesse : as, if you

q have appointed

* your self to come

as an advocate to

any man upon a

present occasion,

and in the meane

time your sonne

shall begin to bee

grievously sicke, it

cannot be against

Durie, not to q per-

forme that which

you * said ; and he

to whom the q pro-

mise was made,

should more

q swerue from Du-

tie, if hee q should

complaine that he

was disappointed.

Now who seeth

not

And then giveth reason of both.

For that it is against

Duty, to admitte

ther of the greater

evill than the lesse

and also giveth an

instance of the la-

ter kinde.

As, if an advocat

should promise his

client that he would

pleade his cause at

such a time ; and

the meane while

his son falls griev-

ously sicke that he

cannot be for him

that it is not against

Duty for the advo-

cate to be absent in

this case : and the

the client should

more swarve from

Duty, if hee should

complaine that he

was disappointed

than the other

his absence.

So likewise he teacheth that men are not bound to such promises as they made, enforced by feare, or drawne in by deceit. *q* either constrained by feare, or deceived by guile? *q* which things indeed, *q* for most part, *q* are discharged by the *q* Pretors Court, and many of them by *q* statutes. *q* most of which things, *q* most of them are freed. *q* Chancery, or Court of Conscience. *q* Lawes, or statute-lawes.

Chap. 14.

q In Duties be- *q* Equity is to be longed to the lawe, looked to in law we are not so stick matters. in the *q* words [of *q* Offices or mat- the law] [but] e- ters. quitie is to be looked unto.

F 3 *q* More.

q Also wrongs are oft times.

q bar.

q naughty or wrested misconstruing.

q The chiefest or utmost, or the vigour of law.

q chiefe.

* made.

q worne.

q speech or communication.

q in the common-weale.

q league of peace.

q truce of a hundredth and thirtie daies were covenanted with the enemy.

q Moreover, there doe oft times injuries arise by a certaine cavillation, & roo craftie q and q subtle interpretation of the lawe.

Whereupon that [saying] viz.

q Extremity of lawe is the q extreamest injurie, is now * become a q common proverb in [our]

q talke. 2 In which kinde many things are done amisse, even q in the common-weale matters: as hee who when q truce was taken with theemie for a hundredth and thirtie dayes,

q spoi-

Tully in the chapter declared how injuries oft times are committed by cavilling & subtle misconstruing or wresting of the lawe.

This he proved 1. By that common proverb: That the extremitie of lawe is the extreamest injurie.

2. By usuall experience in the commonweale, where he giveth two notable examples of crafty dealers. One of which (whose name he mitteth) hath made truce with the enemy for ty daies, spoiled

land in the nights ; q spoiled his q land q destroyed, wasted
 pretending that the in the night, be- or overranne.
 truce was taken on- cause q the truce q fields by night. *
 ly for the daies, and wastakē for daies, q the truce of daies
 not for the nights. and not of nights
 were covenanted.

q No nor yet indeed q neither truly.

q our countrie- q ours.

man is to bee q ap- q allowed of.

proved of, if it

bee true, q that q Quintus Fabius.

Quintus Fabius

Labeo or any other

(for I have no-

thing but by heare-

say) being q ap- q given.

pointed by the

Senate to bee an

being appointed by * arbitratour q be- * umpire or daies-

between the Nolanes man,

* and Neapolitanes q to the Nolanes.

* concerning the * and them of Na-

bounds of their ples.

Land, when hee * about.

came to the place,

q did commune q to have spoken

with them both a- with either of them

part, that they severally.

should

The other example

of Quintus Fa-

bius Labeo : who

as the report wēt)

being appointed by

the Senat of Rome,

or an arbitratour

betweene the No-

lanes and the Nea-

politanes about the

bounds of their

lands, communed

with both sides a-

part, perswading

them to do nothing

*greedily.

get backe or retire.

*encroche one upon another.

*which when either of them had done.

Al. on both sides.

*there was a parcell of ground, &c.

set out or bounded.

*yielded.

should not do nor desire any thing
*coverously, and that they would rather goe backe then *go forward.
*When *Al* both of them had done it, *some ground was left in the midst. Therefore hee so *q* limited their bounds, as they had *saide; [and] adjudged that which was left in the midst, unto the people of Rome.

This verily is to deceive, not to judge. Wherefore such subtilty is to be *avoided in every *q* matter.

There be also certaine Duties to be

coverously, & that either side would rather give backe then forward, in regard of peace, and that they might not seeme to incroche upon one another. Which when both sides had yielded unto, there was a peece of ground left in the midst between them; which hee adjudged free both to the people of Rome.

But this dealing accounteth to be rather to deceive than to arbitrate. To admonisheth to beware of it.

Lastly, he teacheth that there are

*eschewed.

q thing or case.

pies
ex
the
wro
the
Tha
wa
hee
the
for
be
sqm
for

1. Th
doe
2. Th
may
from
by hi

pies of Iustice to be
executed upon
them who do such
wrongs, and giveth
the reason thereof;
That it is not al-
waies sufficient that
hee who hath done
the wrong bee sorie
for it, but that hee
be punished also
sometimes; and that
for two causes.

bee observed even
towards them, of
whom you have
received wrong.

For there is a
measure both * of * in revenge and
revenge and puni- chastisement.
shing. And [indeed]

I * know not whe- * wot not.

ther it be sufficient

q that hee who q him who began
q began (should to repent of his in-
[openly] repent of jury.
his injury, but [that q provoked.

1. That he may not
doe the like after.

2. That others also
may bee terrified
from doing wrong
by his example.

hee be] punished,
that hee commit
not q the like of- q any like thing.
fence after, and o-
ther also may bee
the slower to doe
wrong.

Chap.

Chap. 15.

Hitherto [Tullie
hath spoken] of ci-
vill Iustice: now [he
discourseth] of war-
like Duties; And
maketh two kindes
of warre, to both of
which these things
are common; that

¶ the warres.

¶ they be not under-
taken but upon iust
causes; that they be
not entred into, but

¶ matters required
or challenged, viz.
the things which
they who begin,
would require.

¶ their demaunders
first made, [nor] un-
lesse [they bee] so-
lemnly proclaimed:
that they may bee
rightly atchieved,

¶ we use no cruelty.

that * wee bee not
cruell above mea-
sure against them
who are overcome.
Also that they who
yeeld

Tully
seth o
ties, a
1. Tha
Arme
to be
Com
2. Th
there
of con
one i
matter
the oth

yeeld themselves be
received more cur-
teously; that fidelitie
bee performed to an
enemie even privat-
ly, not onely in so-
lemne agreements. *q* covenants.
But these things are
proper; that we deale
more * mildely with * mercifully or
this kinde of ene- curteously.
mies who strive for
soveraigntie; more
severely with them
who seek our life.

Tully heer discour- *1 q* **M**oreover *q* Also.
seth of military du- the laws
ties, and teacheth; of *q* armes are to *q* warre.
1 That the lawes of be *q* specially kept *q* preserved in any
Armes are chiefly in a common weal. wis:.
to be observed in a
Commonweale. *2* For whereas
2 That whereas there are two kinds
there are two kinds of contention, one
of contention, the by *q* reasoning, *2* *q* disputing or de-
one in debating bating the matter.
matters by reason, nother by * force; * violence.
the other by force; and whereas that is
q the

q proper.

q if.

q truly.

q undertaken.
* to this end and
purpose.

q that.
q it may lived [of
us.]

* they ought to be
saved.

q his cruell in war.

q fierce, savage or
outrageous.

q Equies.

q the property of
man, this of beasts;
we must fly to the
later, *q* when wee
cannot use the for-
mer.

3 Wherefore *q* in
very deed, warres
are to bee *q* taken
in hand * for *q* this,
that *q* we may live
in peace without
injurie.

4 And the victo-
ry being gotten,
* they are to bee
preserved who
have not *q* beene
cruell nor gunmer-
cifull in fight : as
our ancestours re-
ceived even into
[their] Citie, the
Thusculans, *q* E-
quians, Volscians,
Sabines, [and] Her-
nicks ; but they
q ut-

and that the first
these being prop-
only to man, and
other more belong-
ing to the beasts
that we are the
only to flee to be-
later when we can
not prevaile by the
former.

2. Sheweth, that
what cause wars are
undertaken. viz.
That men may live
in peace without
injurie.

4. What is to be
done when the victo-
ry is gotten, viz.
That they bee pre-
served who have
not carried them-
selves cruelly in
fight.

This he illustrates
by the example of
their ancestours, who
received some into
even into the citie,
as the Tusculans,
Equies, &c. who
as they utterly re-

the first
ng prop
man, n
re belo
e bea
are the
lie to
n wec
aile by
weth,
se wars
en. vi
n may
e with

it is to be
en the r
otten, t
y bee p
who h
ied the
nely in
Illustra
example
ctors, w
somef
o the ci
ufculan
&c. wh
trarily n

and spoiled other
cities, as Carthage
and Numance. And
likewise Corinth;
though he thinketh
that this was done
only in regard of
the situation of it;
lest the place might
have encouraged
them to new warre.
Here he giveth this
generall advice;

That men should
alwaies consult for
peace, so farre as it
may bee free from
fear of treachery.
Thus he teacheth
the effects, that
they had done
as hee would,
they had had a
nothing common.
Weale, which now
is none in re-
spect.

q utterly razed q rooke away [or
Carthage and Nu- spoiled] utterly.
mance. q I would q I would not Co-
they h d not so rinth.
razed Corinth :
but q I take it, that q I beleeeve them to
they chiefly respe- have followed the
cted the situation opportunity of the
of the place, lest place especially.
the very place
might at any time
q incourage them q provoke them to
to move warre. make warre.
q Certainly in my q Truly in my opi-
minde, q we ought nion.
alwaies to advise q we are alway to
for peace, q which consult for peace.
may be free from q which shall have
fear of treachery. no deceit.
Wherein q if they q if it had been o-
would have yeel- beyed unto me, or
ded unto me, wee if I had bin obeyed.
should have had,
although not the
q best, yet some q best [common-
Common weale, weale.]
which now is
none

q it is to be provided for them.

q have overcome.

q then they who their weapons being laide away fly to the fidelitie of the Emperours.

q Aries, is an engine called a ram: which served in warre to beate downe walls. q smitten downe. q in which thing. q so verie greatly. q at or with ours.

* unto their fidelitie.

q overcome, subdued.

q of them, viz. of those cities and nations.

* after the manner.

none. But whereas

q you are to provide for their safety whome you q shall subdue by force; q then they especially, who yeelding up their weapons, fly unto the mercy of the governours, are to bee received, al-

though q the ram hath q battered the wall. q In which point, Iustice hath beene q so much regarded q amongst our men, that they who had received

* to [their] mercy Cities or Nations

q conquered in warre, should bee

patrones q of the same, * by the custome of [our] ancestors

5. That as the conquerors are to provide for the safety of all whom they shall subdue, except such who have resisted themselves cruelly; so more specially for those who yeelding up their weapons have betaken themselves to the mercy of the governour, though there hath been no remedy, but they yeeld or die.

This lie commended by the example and customes of their ancestors that made such conquerors as have received to mercies or nations, become patrones of the same.

& mee declareth cestours. And q in q truly.
 that the justice of very truth the qju- q equitie.
 war, is most holily stice of warre is
 set downe in the * described most * set downe.
 law of the heralds * holily in the q fe- * sincerely.
 of the Romanes; & q law of the heralds
 that therein it may who were to pro-
 be seene what clame warre.
 warre is just, viz. q of which.
 No war but which q that no warre is q no war to be just.
 moved upon de- bee understood,
 mands first made, q that no warre is
 proclaimed so- just, but which ei-
 emaly, or bidden ther is q moved, q done.
 open defiance. q demands being q things being first
 He setteth downe first made; or wen claymed.
 certaine other spe- is proclaimed be-
 al Duties to be fore, and q bidden qdenounced solem-
 observed in warre. ly or published.
 That no souldier by defiance. Pom-
 admitted to pilius q the General q the Emperour.
 fight with the ene. [of the Romanes]
 he, but being first kept a Province, in
 solemnly sworne. whose armie q Ca- q the sonne of Ca-
 this he sheweth by toes sonne, being a to, a novice.
 the authoriue of young souldier,
 ato, writing to q did serve. q And q did play the
 ompilius the Ge- whenas it q plea- q Bur.
 rall, under whom q dismissed one q seemed good to.
 sonne was a q send away or dis-
 young souldier : q band charge.

q legion of soldiers.

q of fighting.

q should suffer.

q carry.

q binde him by a second oath of warfare.

q the former [oath] being lost, hee might not fight by right &c.

q chiefe obseruation they had.

q moving or managing their warre.

q an epistle [extant] q being an elde man.

q himsele to have heard.

q band, he dismissed also *Caros* son, who served in the same band. But when as hee remained still in the army, for the love

q of the warres, *Cato* writ unto *Pompilius* that if hee gluffered him to remaine in the army, hee should

q swear him again; because q he being discharged of his former oath, might not lawfully fight with the enemies.

So q great regard there was in q making warre. There is q a Letter of *Marcus Cato* q the elder, to *Marcus* his sonne; where in he wrote q that he

That, whereas he had heard, that he had dismissed sonne, upon the cation of dismissal that band where hee was, hee should not suffer him to remaine in the army, much less fight, unless hee sware him again. Because he being discharged of his former oath might not lawfully fight unless hee were sworn againe.

Also by another Letter of his, to his sonne, That when

as he heard that he
being then a sould-
ier in the Persian
war was discharged
by the Consull, hee
should not enter
the battell to fight :
because it was not
lawfull for him who
was not a souldier,
to fight with the e-
nemie ; signifying
that none indeed
were souldiers but
those which stood
faine.

A second is, that
there bee as much
mildenesse shewed
to the enemy as
may be.

This he proveth by
the example of their
ancestours ; who
gave to the enemy
the fairest name
they could : as by
calling him who
was properly *perdu-
ellus*, viz. a stubborn
enemy, *hostis*, mea-

hee had heard,

q that hee was dis-
charged by the

Consull, q being a
souldier in Mace-

donia in the Per-
sian warre. Hee

therfore q warneth
him that he * be-

ware, that he enter
not q the battell :

q into the battell
for hee denyeth

* it to be lawfull
[for him] who is

not * a souldier to
fight with the ene-

mic.
2. And q certain-

ly I note q this,
that hee q who by

his proper name
was *perduellis*

[*id est*] * a stubborn
enemy, was called

hostis [meaning]
q a stranger ; the

mildenesse of the
G word

q him to have bin
dismissed.

q whenas he was
a souldier.

q admonisheth him
to.

* take heed.

q into the battell.

* that it was lawfull.

* a sworne souldier.

q in good truth do
observe.

q that.

q who was a stub-
borne enemy by a

proper name, or by
a proprietic of

speech.

* an open enemy.

q a souldier or man
of war.

q sorrowfulnesse.

* matter.

* amongst.

* in these words,
Aut, &c.

q gentlenesse or
moderation.

q soft or milde.

* wage warre.
q long continuance.

* odious.

q hath.

wordes asswaging
the q haynoulness
of the * thing. For
he was called *hostis*
* with our an-
cestours, whom now
wee name *peregrini*,
[a stranger.]

The twelve tables
declare [the same]
* *Aut status dies*
cum hoste; and a-
gaine, *Adversus*
hostem aeterna au-
thoritas. What
may bee added to
this q mildenesse,
to call him by so
q faire a name,
with whom you
* make warre?

Although q pro-
cess of time hath
now made that
name more * hard:
for it q is departed
from the name of

ning a stranger or
foreiner, according
to the auncient cu-
stome; so mitiga-
ting the hainoulness
of the thing by the
mildenesse of the
word.

This hee proved
moreover by the
lawes of the twelve
tables, wherein the
obstinate enemy
usually called *hostis*
intimating a stran-
ger.

Although he shew-
eth that through
processe of time the
word *hostis* is used
properly for the
pen enemy, who
proudly beares
armes against us

Pere-

Peregrinus, [that
is to say, a stran-
ger] and *q* remain-
eth properly ** for q* remained pro-
him who *q* beareth perly, ** in him, viz.*
armes against any stands for &c.
one. *q* bare armour of
the contrary part.

3 *q* Also when *q* But.
q there is fighting *q* it is contended,
q for soveraigntie, *viz.* the conten-
& glory is sought tion is.
by warre; yet it be- *q* concerning em-
hooveth alwaies, pire, *viz.* about go-
q that there be the verning or ruling,
very same just cau- who shall rule.
ses of warre, which *q* the causes to be
I spake of a little the same altogether
before. But those which I said a little
just causes of war.

warres *q* in which *q* to which.
the glory of *q* so- *q* empire or bea-
veraigntie is pro- ring rule.
pounded, are to be
made *q* with lesse *q* lesse bitterly.
cruelty. For as

when wee contend
q in ciuill matters, *q* civilly.
wee doe one way

G 2 *q* if

*if it bee against an
emie: otherwise
if against a compe-
titour or * a suter
against us.

q the strife of ho-
nour & dignitie is
with the one.

q of the head.

* waged.

q bee.

q war was holden
with the Latines.

q Penos.

q it was foughten,
q dominion, viz.
who should beare
rule.

q Penes.

* if he be an enemy
[with whom wee
contend] : other-
wise if * a compe-
titour: [for] q with
the one the strife
[is] for honour and
dignitie, with the
other q for life and
honestie. Thus

warre was * holden
with the Celtibers,
and with the Cim-
brians as with ene-
mies, whether
should q live, not
whether should
beare rule : but

q with the Latines,
Samites, Samnites,
q Carthagineans,
[and] with Pirrhus,

q the fight was a-
bout the q Empire.
The q Carthagine-
nans [were] truce-
breakers. *Annibal*

[was]

our contention in
civill matters. This
is in civill strife we
deale one way with
an enemy, with
whom we contend
for life & honestie
and another way
with a competitor
who contends
with us onely for
honour & dignitie.
so must it be in war-
like matters.

After, hee further
manifesteth it by
particular examples.
As by the warre
against the Celtibers
& Cimbrians, which
was as against ene-
mies for life : and

contrarily against
the Latines, Sa-
bines Samnites,
Carthagineans,
Pirrhus for the
empire only, where
in they deale
fairer, though
of these enemies
were truce-breakers
and too cruell.

[was] cruell, the

rest [were] more

just. *q* That is

doubtlesse *q* a no-

ble saying of *Pir-*

rhus, about resto-

ring of prisoners.

Neither require

I gold *q* for my

self, neither shal he

give me any*price;

Neither *q* [are we

such us] *q* make a

gaine of warre, but

q warriours.

Let both of us

q make triall for

our life, with the

q sword, not with

gold.

Whether *q* Lady

Fortune will have

you or mee to

reigne, *q* or what

may betide.

Let us try by

q valour, and with-

q vertue.

G 3 all

q That indeed is, &c.

q a worthy sentence or speech.

q concerning captives to be restored.

q to my selfe.

* summe of money or hire.

q playing the huesters with war.

q making war.

q trie out or fight for our life.

q iron.

q the mistresse will have it, &c.

q or what fortune may bring.

¶ speech.

¶ the vertue of whom.

¶ shall he spared.

¶ It is determined, me to spare.

¶ Account it for a gift. ¶ and I give it, with the great Gods willing.

¶ Truly a regall [or kingly] sentence, and worthy the stocke of the Eacidanes.

See the margent Latin.

¶ the nation.

¶ And also if everie one by themselves.

¶ led or drawne by the times, viz. upon such extremities.

¶ fidelitie is to be kept in the same verie thing.

all take this ¶ answer;

¶ Whose manhood the fortune of war ¶ shall spare, ¶ I have determined to spare their freedome.

¶ Accept it: ¶ for I give it, with the good liking of the great gods.

¶ A Princely saying indeed, and well beseeching ¶ the lineage of the Eacidanes.

¶ Likewise also if ¶ private men, ¶ inforced by occasions, shall promise any thing to the enemy, ¶ they must keepe their promise therein: as *Regulus*, being taken by the Carthage-
tha-

So that hee should win it by sword should wear it, with as good will as the great Gods gave. This he commended for a princely saying, and well seeming one descending from Achilles. A fourth precept That the verie private souldiers promise their word to the enemy, though they promised, being inforced therunto, by the occasion of the times straights whereunto they were drawn. This hee declared also by example of the first of *Regulus* worthy Roman

who in the first Punick-war: * war of Carthage
 nique war, being taken prisoner by the
 Carthagineans, and [who] when hee
 by them sent to Rome q was sent to Rome q had bin sent.
 Rome about the exchanging of prisoners, q about the exchā- q concerning the
 changing prisoners, and had sworne interchanging.
 that he would returne unlesse he obtained the exchange q that hee would q himself to return.
 of them; hee both returne; first, q as q as he came.
 dissuaded the matter [as incommo- soone as he came,
 dious] and chused in the Senate q he thought not in
 rather to returne to the house, that the the Senate the pri-
 the enemy, to ensure prisoners should soners to be resto-
 any punishment not be restored: red.
 (though he afterwards, when
 was much staied by * he was staied by * he should have
 his friends) than to his kinsfolkes and bin retained or
 weake his promise friends, q hee was stopped of his.
 given to them. more willing to re- q chused rather.
 turne to punish-
 ment, than to
 q breake his pro- q deceive or fru-
 mise given to the strate his fidelity.
 enemy. And in
 the second Punike
 warre, after q the q the Cannas bat-
 field tell.

or field, viz. battel
fought there.

q left in the com-
mon treasure, or to
pay to the common
treasure, or disfran-
chised and put from
their freedome to
pay as strangers.

verb. which ten An-
nibal sent to Rome
bound with an
oath themselves to
returne, except
they had obtained
concerning the re-
deeming of those
which were taken;
the Censors left
them all in fines [or
to pay yeerely
fines] who had for-
sworne, so long as
any of them lived.
q nor lesse [or and
no lesse] him who
had found a fault by
the deceiving of his
oath.

q gone out by An-
nibals licence.

* within a little
while after.

q because.

field at Canes,
q verb. the Censors

q lesse all those
tenne at a yeerely

fine so long as any
of them lived, who
had forsworne
themselves: which

Annibal sent to
Rome bound by
oath, that they
should returne, ex-
cept they obtained
the ransoming of
those that were
prisoners [at

Rome:] q & him
likewise who had
found an excuse
by deluding his
oath: For when-
as hee had q got-
out of the Campe
by the permission
of Annibal,* he re-
turned a little after,
q for that he sayd,
q he

The second exam-
ple is of the Cen-
sors of Rome: who
fined all those
at an yeerely fine
during their lives
who had falsified
their othes, when-
by they had bound
themselves to An-
nibal the enemy
that they would re-
turne to him, un-
lesse they obtained
the ransoming of
certaine prisoners
at Rome. And
dealt they likewise
with one othe
who deluded his
oath which he had
taken, by a kinde
equivocating,
imagining himself
free. For he having
sworne to returne
so soone as ever he
was gotten with-
out the campe,
returned presently
as if hee had for-

Whi
verb
rule
for
Tha
ning
word
respe
A fi
this
ever
hatre
This
by a
pic o
nowar
and
dealin
asa ru
Pyth
mised
to poi

Something: & then *q* hee had forgot- *q* himselfe to have
getting himself out ten I knowe not forgotten.
of the campe again, what. And then
he thought himself being gone [again]
quit from his oath; out of the campe,
as hee seemed in hee thought him-
words, though in- selfe * freed from
deed hee was not. his oath; and [so] * discharged of
his oath.

Which Tully pro- *q* you ought to
veth by a generall thinko in fidelitie
rule for all promi- [or giving your
ses, faithfull word.]
That the true mea-
ning, not the bare *q* have meant, [or
words, is ever to be ought to have
respected therein. meant.]
A fift precept is * most notable ex-
this, That there be ample.
ever kept a speciall *q* is constituted or
hatred of treachery. appointed.
This hee teacheth
by a notable exam-
ple of justice even * a traitor having
towards the enemy run away from
and against such Pyrrhus.
dealing: That when
a runnagate from *q* himselfe to give
Pyrrhus had promi- poison to the King,
sed the Senate [or to poison the
to poison him; the King]
kill

kill him, *q* the Senate. *q* He, or the Senate. *nate* and *Cains Fabricius* delivered that runnagate traitour to *Pyrrhus*: so as it did not approve * the treacherous *q* death not of an enemy, both mighty and moving warre * unprovoked. And thus *q* have we spoken sufficiently of

* by treacherie or wickednesse.
q the death.

* of his owne accord.

q it is spoken.

q warlike or warfaring or militarie Duties.

q the lowest men, viz. the meanest.
q fortune.
q servants.

q hirelings or mercenarie.

Let us also remember, that there is a justice to be kept even towards *q* the basest. And the condition and *q* estate of *q* slaves is the basest: whom they that command to use so, as *q* hired servants

Senate. sent the traitor back to *Pyrrhus* signifying treacherie: Then by shewing their hatred of such a fact, though against an enemy both mighty, & moving war unprovoked.

Thus farre he has spoken of warlike Duties.

Next, he speaketh of Iustice to be kept, even towards the basest sort and condition of people which he maketh to be the slaves, that we are as we bound to give them their due for their labour, as to requite their labour of them.

to

sent the
back to Pr
ifying la
e: Then
ing thi
of such
gh again
nie be
& moving
ovoked.

e he has
f warlike

speakes
to be
a toward
sort and
f people
make
e slave
re as we
ive them
for their
orequ
our

Lastly, hee setteth
downe two man-
ners of doing inju-
rie: One by force,
which is most pro-
per to the lion;
A second by fraud,
the proper tie of the
fox: both of them
be unbecoming man;
but guile the worse
of the two.

And here he teach-
eth what is the most
hainous kind of all
injustice, viz. when
men intend the
most deceit, yet do
it under a pretence
of honesty, and to
the end that they
may seeme good
men.

to *q* require [their] *q* exact,
labour, and *q* give *q* performe just
them their due, do things unto th
not *q* command a- *q* give precep-
misse. *q* Moreo- amisse.
ver, whereas injury *q* But.
* may be done two * is,
manner of waies,
that is to say,
either by * force, * violence.
or by * guile: guile * fraud.
seemeth to be * as * the property of
of the Fox, force the fox.
of the Lion; both
of them most *q* un- *q* alienated or
becoming man: estranged from
yet guile * [is] man.
worthy the grea- * deserveth.
ter hatred. But of
all injustice none is
q more capital, than *q* more worthy
of them, who then grievous punish-
when they de- ment or more hai-
ceive most, yet doe nous.
it to the end that *q* so handle the
they may seeme matter.
good men. *q* [So *q* Concerning Ju-
like- stice enough is said.

Tullies, Offices

likewise] enough
is said concerning
Iustice.

Chap. 16.

The Argument.

q knit.

q teacheth three
things to be looked
unto chiefly.

q others.

Of liberality the
second part of Iu-
stice, which yet
Aristotle seemeth
to q joyne to Mo-
destie : wherein
Tully q sheweth
that three things
[are] to be looked
to especially. The
first [is] that wee
give not any thing
which may bee
hurtfull to the re-
ceiver ; nor that
wee take from
q some by wrong
that

that which we * would give.

* may give to others. The second

[is] that wee * exer- * use.

cise our liberality *q* for the measure

q according to our of our substance.

ability. The third

[is] that wee give

not to whom wee

ought not. But

we must give either

q to them who are *q* to [men] being

commended for commendable or

vertue, or to them praise-worthie.

who *q* are loving- *q* prosecute us in

ly affected to- honest good will.

wards us ; or with

whom *q* wee have *q* some band of so-

some special band cietie doth come

of societie : or to betweene to us or

cōclude, [to them] passe between us.

who [have] de-

served well of us ;

to whome a kind-

nesse is to be *q* re- *q* measured backe.

payed even with

usurie : Last of all,

repea-

repeating the de-
grees of humane
societie from the
q chiefe fountaine q first originall, he
of spring. compareth them
amongst them-
selves, that so much
may be performed
q as is due to every
one. But *Seneca*
hath written most
* carefully. * diligently in ma-
ny bookes concer-
ning this part.

q Let it bespoken q **L** Et us now In this Chapter
furthermore, as it speake, as Tully discourseth
was purposed, of we had q purposed, of bounty or libe-
rality. of bounty and li- rality;
q determined. berality, than 1. Giving it the
which certainly commendatiō, that
nothing is more nothing is more
* befitting the nature of man. q Not- befitting man.
withstanding, it 2. He teacheth that
hath divers q cau- three things are
tions. For 1 First 1. That our boun-
[wee]

is neither hurt [wee] must q take q see.
 to whom we would heed q that our q lest our bountie.
 seeme bountifull, bountie hurt not
 nor other a.

both q those to q those themselves
 whom wee would to whom it shall
 seeme to be boun- seeme to bee done
 tifull, and also o- bountifully.

That our boun- thers : * Secondly, * afterwards.
 bee not above, that our q bountie q liberalitie:
 durabilitie. be not q more, q greater then our
 then our abilitie : substance.

Third is, That q Thirdly, that we q Then.

we give to everie
 according to
 their dignitie : for
 a bee counteth
 a chiefe founda-
 tion of justice,
 whereunto all these
 things are referred.

things * are to bee * must be applied.

concerning the referred. For both
 of these three; they that doe a
 teacheth us to pleasure to any
 use of it : first, one which may
 hurt them, who hurt him, whom
 that which they would seeme

hurt them, are q willing to profit, q to will or desire
 bee deemed are not to bee dee- pleasure.
 med q judged.

med bountious, bountifull, but
 nor liberall, but nicious flatter
 q pestilent. q pernicious flatter
 q who. q that hurt q some, And secondly,
 q others. that they may be cause they who
 q doe fall into. q are in the same some to be bo
 full therewith
 others, run into
 same fault, as if
 should take
 others to
 themselves the
 * For there are: au- their owne. * And
 tam for enim. indeed there are
 q and [those] in- many, q and name-
 deed. ly [those who] are
 desirous of honour
 and glory, who
 * forceably take. * catch away from
 some, that which
 they * lauish to o- Now hee sh
 thers. These also that there are
 suppose that they of this later fo
 shall seeme boun- namely, all de
 tifull towards of glorie: wh
 pose that the
 seeme boun
 q their friends, if their friend
 they enrich them they may
 by * any meanes. them by any

But,

glorie than good glory, that they
 nature, onely to the may seeme boun-
 end that they may tiffull: which things
 seeme bountifull; may seem to q pro- q come.
 and so rather from ostentation, than a
 free heart.

And such a q coun- q good will.
 terfeit shew is nee- q dissembling, a
 rer to vanitie, than neeter neighbour.
 either to liberality
 or honestie.

The third q cau- q thing propoun-
 tion is, that in [our] ded.
 liberality there
 should bee a q re- q choice.
 gard of q wortbi- q dignitie.
 nesse: wherein
 both his manners
 upon whom the
 benefite shall be be-
 stowed q are to be q shall be looked
 looked unto, and unto.
 also his q affection q minde or good
 towards, us, and will.
 community and
 fellowship of life,
 H a and
 honestie to us.

q good turnes, or
services or duties,
q conferred.

q to our profit,
q a thing to be
wished.

q meet together,
that all which may
concur it is to be
wished.

and q kindnesse
q performed be-
fore for our com-
modities : q All
which, it is q to
be wished that
they may q con-
curr : If not, the
moe causes and
the greater, shall
have more weight
[in them.]

All which he teach-
eth, that it were to
be wished they
might concur ; o-
therwise the moe of
them and greater
to have the more
weight and respect
with us in our libe-
ralltie.

Chap. 17.

q manners to be
looked unto.

q reason.

* patterne or re-
semblance.

q Manners are
to be considered,
not according to the
exact q considera-
tion of the wise
Stoicks, but the ci-
vill * image of ver-
tue.

And

Tully declareth in this chapter, what is to be considered concerning mens manners spoken of before, for the guiding of our liberality.

And first, that wee neglect no man, in whom there appeareth any shewe of vertue.

Hereof also hee giveth this reason; Because we live not with men who are perfect & absolutely wise; but with such as in whom, wee thinke it very well, if there be but resemblances of vertue.

That we regard every one the more as he shall be more graced with the wilde vertues of modesty, temperance and iustice: and then giveth the reason hercot;

ANd because

q we live not with perfect men, and * fully wise, but with *q* such in whom *q* it is very well, * if there bee [in them] resemblances of vertue;

I *q* take this also meet to be *q* considered, *q* that wee despise no man, in whom any *q* signe of vertue doth appeare. *q* Also that every man be specially so regarded, as each shall bee

q more specially graced with these milder vertues, [viz.] * modestie, temperance, and that same iustice of which * ma-

q it is lived, leadeth our life. * thoroughly or absolutely wise. *q* those. *q* it is done verie well. * if they be.

q thinke. *q* understood. *q* no man to be despised. *q* signification, or shew. *q* And everie one to be so honoured especially.

q chiefly adorned. *q* moderation. *q* wee have spoken much before.

H 3 ny

Tullies Offices

a valiant minde
and great
spirit.

not perfect nor
wise.

* viz. modestie,
temperance and
justice.
touch.

ny things are spo-
ken alreadie. For Because haury con-
ga haury & a great rages and hot spi-
* courage is for the rits are not usually
most part more in the wisest men;
feruent, in a man but contrarily those
q who is too short milder vertues, viz.
in perfection and of Temperance &
wisdome: [but] Iustice, seem com-
these * vertues monly to follow a
seeme rather to good man.
q appertaine to a
good man. And
these things [may
be considered] in
manners.

Chap. 18.

* how we are to
consider.

* esteemed.

* How the good
will of others to-
wards us, is to bee
* considered.

q Now

Here Tully teacheth how we are to consider of mens affections towards us. And first, that this is to bee looked upon as principallie; that we give most to him of whom wee are most beloved. That we measure mens affections towards us, not by a certaine heat of love for a fir, as young men are wont to doe; but by the stability and constancie thereof.

NOW concerning the good will which every one * hath * beareth towards us; that is the chiefe point in Dutie, that we give most to him, of whom wee are beloved most. But we must measure *q* let us judge. good will, not after the *q* manner *q* guise or fashion. of young men, by a certaine *q* heat *q* fervency. of love; but rather by * stabilitie and * assurednesse and constancie. *steadfastnesse.*

Chap. 19.

*How kindnesse is to bee requited to thē who have *q* well *q* if there shall be deserved of us. *deserts.**

But

But if the *De*
seris [of men] be such, that *q* we
q favour is not to be gone in, or to
 be sought, but to be required.
q added.
 * for.
 * thankfulnesse.
q received to use
 or occupy.
q greater.
q benefit.
 * fruitfull.

are not to seeke to creepe into favour,
 but to requite kindnesse; a cer-
 taine greater care is to be *q* used,
 * Because there is no Dutie more ne-
 cessarie than re-
 quiting of * thanks.
 For if *Hesiod* com-
 mandes to restore those things which
 you have *q* bor-
 rowed for your
 use, with a *q* larger
 measure, if that
 you can; what then
 ought wee to doe
 being provoked
 by a *q* kindnesse?
 Ought wee not to
 imitate the * fertile
 fields;

Tullie in
 chapter giveth
 directions for requi-
 ting of mens kin-
 dnesses to us; & he
 teacheth that we
 ought to have
 speciall care be-
 of. Because there
 no Duty more
 necessarie than it.
 2. That wee ought
 to repay such kin-
 dnesses with a greater
 measure than we
 received the same.
 This hee proveth
 first, by the testi-
 monie of *Hesiod*
 commanding to
 restore things bor-
 rowed for our use
 with fuller measure
 if we can; and there-
 fore much more
 such good turnes
 have been done
 frankly, and what
 by we have bene
 provoked; heere
 imitating the
 fertile
 fields.

fields; which bring
much more than
they have recei-
ved? For if wee

Secondly, he shew-
eth it by another
reason from the less
thus; That if wee
slicke not to be-
stowe benefits on
them who (wee
hope) will doe us
good hereafter,
much more ought
we on them, who
have done us good
alreadie.

q stick not to be- q doubt not.
stowe kindnesse
upon them, whom
wee hope will qdo q profit us.
us good hereafter;
q what manner of q what ones.
men ought wee to
be towards them,
who have done us
good alreadie?

For whereas there
bee two kindes
of liberality, one
of q bellowing q giving.
a benefit, the o-
ther of requiting,

q it is in our owne q whether we will
power whether give or no is in our
wee will give or owne power,
no: [but] q it choice.
is not lawfull q not to restore is
for a good man not lawfull for a
not to restore, good man.
if

- if so that he can do it without injurie. There are also gre-
 respects to be had of
 benefits received:
 neyther [is there
 any] doubt, but
 most is due *q* to e-
 verie the greatest.
 Wherein yet it is
 especially to bee
 weighed, with
 what minde, affec-
 tion, and good will
q any man * hath
 done it. For many
 men doe many
 things * in a cer-
 taine *q* headinesse,
 without *q* discreti-
 on or measure, to-
 wards all [alike:] or
 else being *q* carri-
 ed with violence of
 affection, as with a
 certaine * sudden
 winde: which * be-
 nefits
- q* choices.
- q* to each greatest,
 or who hath done
 us the greatest
 kindnesse.
- * considered.
- q* every one.
 * doeth it.
- * of or through.
q rashnesse.
- q* judgement, rea-
 son.
- q* stirred up by force
 of minde.
- * rushing.
 * kindnesse
- require a kindnesse
 if he can do it with-
 out injurie to any.
3. For kindnesse
 received, that we
 have special regard
 because howsoever
 wee owe most to
 him of whom we
 have received most
 yet we are to weigh
 with what minde
 and affection we
 one hath benefited
 us. Because many
 men do such things
 upon a certain head-
 linesse without dis-
 cretion, & towards
 all alike, or carried
 with some violence
 of affection: which
 benefits he receiveth

kindness, to be so great, ne fits are not to be
 so it with those which are accounted so great,
 to any, showed with as those which are
 judgement, advice q offered with q deferred or given.
 constancy. judgement, q advi- q considerately.

sedly & constant- ly. But in *bestow- * gratifying any.

ing of a benefit, and in requiting kindness, (if [all] other things be

kindness q correspondent) q alike.

that in all q this is a princi- q this is chiefly of
 al regard, this is a prin- pall point of Duty; Duty.

most (all other that as q any one q everie one.
 whom we standeth q most in q especially.

ived most need of [our] * help, so to helpe * aide.
 e to weigh most that him especially.

tion as men com- Which is done q of q by the most.
 a benefi- ly deale cleane verie many * clean * contrariwise.

ause most arily; giving contrary.
 uch thing them most, of

certain ha- an they looke For q of whom q from whom.
 without d- most, although they hope for
 & toward have no need. most, although he

, or carrying have no neede q of q of these things.
 ne violence them, yet they

ion: which * serve
 he teaches

* respect him.
* chiefly.

* serve him * especially.

Chap. 20.

*What order [is to be observed] in the
q Ioyning together q neighbourhood of
or familiaritie. life: and first concern-
ing the universall
societie of all mor-
tal men.*

q fellowship, love.

q preserved best.
q each, or any one.

q most liberalitie
shall be bestowed
on him.
* kindnesse.

q to repeate more
deepely.

BUT the q societie, and neighbourhood of men shall be best maintained, if as q every one shall be the needest [unto us] so q we shall bestow most * liberalitie upon him. But it seemeth wee must q fetch somewhat further,

Here Tully set downe certain things concerning the neighbourhood and society of man, and how it may best be maintained. And first of this general concept; that as one is neediest unto us, so wee bestow most on him.

secondly, noteth further, what are
the degrees of the naturall prin-^q beginnings of
neighbourhood & ciples of neigh-^{*} first things or
society in nature. bourhood & ^q hu- principles of na-
mane societie: for, ^q the fellowship
therin the first ^q the first is that, of man.
that which is which ^{*} is scene in ^q the first [princi-
in the generall the societie of all ple.]
society of all man- And ^{*} appeareth.
de: the bond the bond thereof
of he sheweth is reason & speech:
be reason and
ech.

which ^q reconci- ^q winneth one man
leth men amongst to another.

themselves, and
joyneth them to-
gether in a certaine
naturall societie by

teaching, learning,

^q conferring, ^q rea-

soning, and judg-

ing. Neither ^q do

wee differ more in

any thing from the

nature of ^{*} wilde

beasts: in which

wee say oft times

^q that there is for-

titude

^q communicating.
^q disputing.

^q are we further a-
way in any thing.

^{*} savage.

^q strength to be in.

Tully se-
e cen-
s conce-
neighbo-
society of
now it ma-
maintain-
first
general
; that as
is neede
so wee be-
d on him.

q justice, equity, or
goodnesse to be in
them.

q societie.

q this is the largest
spreading fellow-
ship.

* amongst them-
selves.

* given or afforded.

q described.

* kept.

titute, as in horses,
[and] in lions; but
wee doe not say
[q that there is in
them] justice, equi-
tie [or goodnesse:]
for they are void
of reason and
speech. And sure-
ly this is the q fel-
lowship which
q extendeth most
largely to men a-
mongst themselves,
& to all * amongst
all: in the which
a community of
all things, which
Nature hath * bred
to the common
use of men, is to be
kept so; as those
things which are
q appoynted by
Statutes and the
Civill law, bee so
* holden as it is or-
deined:

nesse as in Li-
horses, &c. as
ther such like
ties: yet can
not have just
goodnesse, be-
they want re-
& speech.

Thirdly, be-
that this
extendeth
most largely
men amongst
selves, and
this end, a
nity of all
which nature
made to the
mon use, be-
cording as
appoynted by
tutes and the
law.

deined : *q* besides *q* of which same
which [all] other things.

And for all other things, that they be so observed, as it is in the Greeke proverb ; That all things be common among friends.

things are to be so observed, as it is in the Greeke proverb ; All things *q* to bee common *q* to owe to be, among friends.

Fourthly, he noteth more particularly, what Duties ought to bee common to be performed to all, besides those appointed by Lawes ; what good should we may doe to others, without hurt to our selves : and that wee are to performe the same even to them whom wee knowe ; according to the saying of Ennius : as, To shew the way courteously to one going out of his way. To light another mans light fire. So, not to for-

q Likewise all those things doe seeme to bee common *q* to all men, which are of the same kinde: which being put [for example] by Ennius in one thing, may bee *q* transferred unto many ; [thus.]

A man who courteously sheweth the way to one out of his way,

Doth, as if hee should light *q* can-
dle *q* at his candle ;

That neverthe-
lesse

q kindled it to him.

* that one precept
is sufficient.

* losse or hurt.

q it.

q even unknowne.

q those things are
common.

* the running water
to any.

q to one delibera-
ting.

lesse it may light
himselfe, when he
hath q lighted the
other.

For * there is suf-
ficient commaun-
ded by one thing,
that whatsoever
can bee sent with-
out * hindrance
q be granted to e-
very one, q yea
though unknowe.

Whereupon q are
those common say-
ings; Not to for-
bid [any] the
running water: to
suffer [any that
will] to take fire
from [our] fire;
to give faithfull
counsell q to him
that asketh advice:
which things are
profitable to those
who receive [them]
[and]

So, not to forbide
any the running
water. To suffer
any one to take fire
from our fire. To
give faithfull coun-
sell to each aske-
our advice.

And generally
yeeld whatsoe-
ver things are pro-
fitable to the recei-
uer, not hurtfull to
the giver.

Whence he con- [and] not *q* hurt- *q* troublesome or
cludeth, that as we full to the giver. burdainsome.
re to use these Wherefore wee
things our selves; must both use
ever to have re- those things, and
spect to the com- * alwayes bring * doe something to
mon good of ail : somewhat to the further the com-
common commo- mon commoditie.
et here he giveth ditie. But because
another caution. the *q* substance *q* of *q* riches.
that because the each private man *q* of everie one by
abundance of each is small, and the himselfe.
private man is multitude of them
small, and the mul- who need *q* it is *q* these riches.
titude of them that infinite, common
and in need is im- liberalitie must be
me; that every referred to that
one so order his li- end* of *Ennius*, that * which Ennius
To sufficiency that first neverthelesse it speaketh of.
to take hee, and so *q* light himselfe ; *q* may shine to him ;
fire. and his, and as they That we may have selfe.
thfull com- nearer to him
each at the further off in de-
ice. ability, wherewith
generally we we may be liberall
whatsoever to our owne.

I Chap.

Chap. 21.

THere bee also
 moe degrees
 of society of men.
 * For that we may
 depart from that
 infinitenesse, there
 is a neerer [de-
 gree] ; To bee of
 the same *q* stocke,
 nation, [and] *q* lan-
 guage, *q* whereby
 men are *q* especi-
 ally knit together.

It is also more
q neere, to bee of
 * the same Citie.

q For citizens have
 many things com-
 mon amongst
 themselves ; the
q Common Hall,
q Churches, *q* Gal-
 lerie walks, *q* High-
 waies, Lawes, *q* Pri-
 vileges

Chap. 21.

In this chapter
 hee setteth downe
 sundrie degrees of
 the societie of men.
 And first, how after
 the generall societie
 with all, there are
 neerer degrees ;
 1. To bee of the
 same stocke, nation
 & language, where-
 by men are naturall-
 ly specially knit to-
 gether.

2. To bee of the
 same citie, is a nee-
 rer degree. They who
 also have many things
 common amongst them-
 selves, as common-hall
 churches, walks, high-
 waies, lawes, privi-
 leges, justice in ch-

* for to leave that
 endlessse number.

q countrie or
 people,
q tongue,
q by which,
q chiefly.

q inward.
 * one.

q for there are ma-
 ny things common
 to citizens among
 themselves.
q place where the
 court is kept, or the
 market.
q temples.
q poiches or gal-
 leries.
q waies.
q rights.

ments voyces in election, customes, dealings, and the like, to joyne them together.

vileges, Iudgements, Voices in election, Customes *q* likewise and Familiarities, also many matters and

q besides.

q Bargaines with many. But *q* a faster knitting [of men] together, is of the fellowship of kinsfolkes.

q reasons [covenants or dealings] contracted.

q sundry. *q* a straighter binding together or neerer.

* infinite or innumerable.

For from that * unmeasurable society of mankind, *q* it is driven into a little and narrow compasse. For

q it is shut up into verie little and straight [place.]

q whereas this is common *q* to all living creatures by nature, that they have *q* a desire of procreation; the first societie is *q* in the very wedlock, the next in chil-

q sixth. *q* of all living creatures.

q a lust of procreation, breeding or ingendring.

q in wedlocke is felie.

I a dren

q and then.

q to which.

q that.

q beginning.

q seminarie.

q conjunctions or societies of brethren do follow.

q cosin germanes, viz. brethren and sisters children.

q taken or holden.

q new townes.

q marriages.

q affinities.

q moe.

* spring.

* multiplication.

dren, q and after third in one house that one house, wherto most things q where to all things are comon.

And q this is the q originall of a Citie, & as it were the seed-plot of a Comonweale. This he sheweth be the originall of a citie, & as it were the seed-plot of a common weale.

[Then] A fourth societie follow the q kinreds of brethren; noteth to be of a germane, of brethren and sisters childre: which when they do crease that they cannot be contained in one house, doe get them abroad into other houses, as into q Colonies. When they cannot be contained in one house, doe get them abroad into other houses, as into q Colonies.

[Afterwards] doe follow q entermarriages and q alliances, of which also q many kinsfolke [do * arise.] Which propagation and q suc- After do follow entermarriages. Whence arise fit societie; viz. alliances of folkes by marriage of which many do spring.

And this propagation hee noteth to be the originall of common-weales. *q* succession is the *q* issue or offspring. originall of common weales.

Also, that this conjunction of bloud and good will knit-*And so the *con- * fellowship or junction of bloud matching of & good will [there- blouds. teth men in love upon] * knitteth bindeth. together. men in love together.*

And that so much the more, because they have the same monuments of their ancestors, religion, burying places, &c. which hee noteth to be a great matter to knit the hearts of men in one. *For it is a great matter to have the same monuments of our ancestors, to use the same q religion, q holy rites. q the q sepulchers, or places of buriall common.*

But of all other societies there is none *q* better, none *q* more excellent, more ** firme, than * sure or stable.* when good men like in *q* conditions, *q* manners, are *q* linked together *q* conjoyned. together in familiarity.

For that honestie, (which wee have oft times

I 3 qmen-

Spoken of.

* allureth us.

* to be friendly.

q be in, or to dwell.

* every vertue, or
all kinde of vertues.

* her.

q maketh that we
love them.

q to be in, viz.
dwell or harbour.

q affecteth it.

q especially.

* And indeed.

q more amiable.

q more coupling
together.

q similitude of good
manners.

q like studies.

q wills.

q mentioned) al-
though we see it
in another, yet it
* moveth us, and
maketh us * friends
to him, in whom
it seemeth to q be.

And although * all
vertue allureth us
to * it selfe, and
q causeth us to love
them in whom it
seemeth q to be; yet
Iustice and Libera-
lity q worketh that
q most of all. * But,
there is nothing

q that winneth
more love, nor
q that linketh men
more surely toge-
ther, than q a like-
nesse of good con-
ditions. For in
whome there are
q the same desires,
the same q mindes,
q it

The reason hereof
is, first, because the
vertues which we
see or imagine in o-
thers, do most firm-
ly binde us unto
them, & especially
Iustice & liberalitie.

And secondly, be-
cause the likenesse of con-
ditions in right
friends; than which
he sheweth that
thing winneth
more true love,
linketh men more
firmly: For in
whome there are
the same desires,
minde, ende, yet

them is as much *q* it commeth to *q* it is done in these.
 delighted with the passe amongst
 other as with him- these, *q* that either *q* that each is de-
 selfe; & thence a- is as much de- lighted equally
 seth that which Py- lighted with the with, &c.
 thagoras requires
 in friendship; That other as with him-
 many become one. selfe: and that *q* is *q* is effected or

brought to passe, commeth to passe.
 which *Pythagoras*
q requires in friend- *q* willeth.
 ship, that *q* many *q* one be made of
 become one. Al- many.

Further more, he
 teacheth here, that so that *q* common *q* communie of
 the fellowship fellowship is great, fellowship, or so-
 which groweth of which *q* groweth of cieties.
 kindeneses given *q* kindneses given *q* is made of.
 and taken to and *q* received to *q* benefits or good
 fro, is verie great; and fro. *q* Which *q* turnes.
 because these being *q* taken.
 mutuall and plea- whilst they are *q* which kindneses,
 suring one another, *mutuall and plea- "common from
 must needs links one to another
 ch in a firme and such as pleasure
 agree. one another.
q those happen, *q* those [kindneses]
 are *q* linked in a are.
 firme societie. *q* tied in fast fellow-
 ship.

But when you
 have *q* considered *q* viewed or perused,
 all

q reason & minde.

q there is none of
all societies.

q which is to every
one of us.

q [Our] parents
[are] deare, [our]
children [are] deare.
[our] kinsfolkes
& familiar [friends]
[are] deare.

q can or would.

q to offer himselfe
to death willingly,
or to die.

q profit the same.

q By which [or by
how much.]

q more detestable.

all things, in q dis-
course and reason;

q of all societies
there is none more
acceptable, none
more deare, than
that q which every
one of us hath with
the Cōmon-weale.

q Deare are our pa-
rents, deare are
our children, [our]
kinsfolkes, and fa-
miliars : but our

Cōntrey alone
contaynes [in it
selfe] all the loves
of all [these.] For
which, what good
man q could doubt

q to take his death,
if he may q doe it

good? q Where-
by the beastly cru-

eltie of these men
in q more to be ab-

horred, who have
q rent

being rightly con-
sidered, the most
acceptable & deare
societie of all o-
thers, is that which
everie one hath
with the common
wealth.

This hee proved
by an argument
from the lesse, that
That howsoever
our parents are dea-
unto us, and soe
kinsfolkes & fam-
iliars, yet our com-
trie alone containe

in it selfe the love
of all these, and
therefore ought to
be dearer to us than
all these. So that
good man should
doubt to lay downe
his life for it, if he
may doe it good.

Whence hee not
that the beastly
crueltie of such
who seeke the

overthrowe of their countries, or the sending the same in peeces by any mischiefe, ought to be abhorred of all. Lastly, hee declareth, that if yet comparison and question be made, to which of these societies most duty ought to be yeelded, That,

1. Our countrie & parents are to be preferred, because wee are specially bound with their benefits.
2. That our children and whole familie are next, because they depend upon us alone.

3. Our kinsfolk carrying themselves

q rent in sunder their Countrey with q all manner of mischiefe, and both are and have beene occupied q in the utter overthrow thereof.

But if q question and comparison be made, to whom q most dutie ought to be yeelded ; our Countrey and parents are q the chiefe, q by whose benefits we are especially bound: *Al* Our children [are] next, and our whole familie ; which q hangeth upon us alone, neither can have any other refuge.

q Afterwards our kinsfolkes agreeing

q torne in peeces, rend their country in sunder. q all horrible wickednesse.

q in blotting it out [or destroying it] utterly.

See here the powder traitors and all of it but bloody faction.

q atly contention and comparison bee made.

q most or duty ought to be given, q principall.

q by the benefits of whom we are bound chiefly.

Al next our children and our whole house.

q looketh to us and can have no other refuge.

q And then.

q with whom for most part a common fortune.

* comforts.

q life and common-
ness of table.

* communications

* comfortings.

q sometimes.

q do flourish espe-
cially.

q that is the most
pleasant friendship.

q the similitude of
manners.

q yoked together.

ing well [with us] well and lovingly toward us.
q who also com-
monly have the
same estate. Where-
fore the necessarie

* ayds of life, are And to these prin-
cipally he teacheth,
due to those espe-
cially whom I
spake of before :
but *q* conversation
and common li-
ving, 'counsels,
'speeches, exhor-
tations, * consola-
tions, and *q* other-
whiles chidings,
q are most usuall
amongst friends.

And *q* that friend-
ship is the pleasan-
test, which *q* like-
ness of conditions
hath *q* linked in
one.

And in a word, that
of all friendships
that is the plea-
santest which is lin-
ked by likeness of
conditions.

Chap.

Chap. 22.

The Argument.

q The Duties of *q* It behooveth the
Liberality ought to Duties of liberalitie
be considered, not to be looked unto
only q by these de- not onely, &c.
grees of societie, but *q* from,
also by other cir-
cumstances.

Tully in this
 chapter setteth
 downe some other
 Duties, concerning
 our bounty and li-
 berality: as,

1. that in perfor-
 ming Duties to each
 societie mentioned,
 we must still consi-
 der, what is most
 necessarie for every
 man; and then what
 each is able to ac-
 taine of himselfe, &
 what hee cannot
 without our helpe:
 & that the degrees
 of friendship and
 of times are not al-
 waies alike.

BUT in *q* do- *q* distributing or
 ing all these performing all
 Duties, *q* we must these.
 mark what is most *q* it is to be seen.

* necessarie for e- * needfull.

verie man, and
 what every one *q* is
 either able or una- *q* can attaine or
 ble to attaine with cannot.

us or without us.
 Therefore the de-
 grees of friendship * must not be alike
 * shall not bee the to the degrees of
 same, times.

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